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Communique Issued After Vienna MBFR Talks

LD0202180789 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Vienna February 2 TASS—The final plenary meeting of the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe was held in the Hofburg Palace here today. The participants in the plenary meeting decided that the talks be concluded. The final joint communique of the participants in the talks says this:

"In view of the decision to open talks on conventional armaments in Europe in March 1989, the states that participated in the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and related measures in central Europe have decided to conclude these talks. The final meeting was held today.

"From 1973 the talks served the purpose of maintaining a serious dialogue between East and West on security questions. The talks served as a first multilateral forum to study complex problems connected with the efforts to consolidate stability and security in Europe. The level of the coincidence of the stands was not enough to enable the participants in the talks to agree upon any treaty. Nevertheless the positions of the two sides were brought closer on a number of matters. The participants accumulated valuable experience and received a clearer notion of what will be needed in order to achieve mutually acceptable and verifiable cuts and restrictions of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

"The participants would like to express their gratitude to the Republic of Austria and its lavish support and the excellent conditions which have been created for the given talks in Vienna".

Soviet Delegate Comments on Vienna Talks

LD0302024889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Vienna February 2 TASS—At today's plenary session of the talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe held in Vienna's Hofburg Palace, the delegates decided to conclude the talks.

Head of the Soviet delegation Valeriyan Mikhaylov took the floor on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty delegations.

He said that important developments directly linked to the future of the Vienna talks had occurred in international life since the previous plenary session in the Hofburg Palace.

He referred to the Soviet Union's major decision to unilaterally cut its armed forces and armaments in 1989-1990. The decision also applies to central Europe, which is the subject of the negotiations.

The Soviet representative recalled that by agreement with the Warsaw Pact allies, the USSR was withdrawing six tank divisions from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland and would disband them.

Several assault landing troops, assault crossing units, and other formations and units usually associated with offensive capability will also be removed from those countries.

Soviet troops in the aforementioned countries are being reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. Meanwhile, the troops remaining on the territory of the allied socialist countries are being reformed in the spirit of strengthening their unambiguously defensive structure.

Following the general line of the Warsaw Pact states aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe, Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary have also announced a unilateral partial reduction in their armed forces and defense expenditures. A similar decision was made earlier by Romania.

Another event touching on the Vienna talks with regard to the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe is the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of the CSCE participants, and adoption by the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO of the mandate for negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, the opening of which is to take place at the beginning of March.

The aforementioned events create an essentially new situation, in light of which a question arises concerning the expediency of further continuing the Vienna talks. In this connection, the speech by the head of the USSR delegation pointed out the need to consider the following circumstances:

Despite the considerable amount of useful work done at the Vienna talks in terms of thorough research into many aspects of the problem of mutual reduction of armed forces and weapons and strengthening security and stability in Europe, the sides have unfortunately not succeeded in overcoming the serious differences that have emerged with regard to the material essence of the necessary disarmament measures of the proposed agreement, and adequate correlation of verification means with such measures.

The Soviet Union's unilateral major reduction in armed forces and armaments, including in central Europe, which has received the backing of other Warsaw Pact states, puts the issue of reducing military confrontation onto a practical plane, and in effect largely covers the actual topic of the Vienna talks, a topic which turned out to be unjustifiably narrow; and creates a favorable prospect for the forthcoming talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces, as well as on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe:

Regarding the general goal and task of the Vienna talks, these are now essentially covered by the mandate of the new talks on conventional forces in Europe, which in a certain sense take the baton from the Vienna talks and should take account of the specific features of all European regions, including central Europe.

Taking account of the aforementioned facts, the head of the Soviet delegation expressed the opinion that it would be logical and justified to adopt a joint decision to end the Vienna talks; he commented that Western participants were also coming to the same opinion.

It was also stated that the conclusion of the Vienna talks does not mean that they had not been useful. They imparted a certain experience and made their contribution to the development of dialogue between East and West on a complex package of problems of security and disarmament in Europe, although this contribution could of course have been more tangible. Nevertheless, as a result of the talks the positions of the sides became closer on a number of issues. The participants acquired a clearer impression of the real possibilities for attaining a mutually acceptable and verifiable accord regarding reduction and limitation of armed forces and armaments in Europe. To a certain degree the Vienna talks prepared the ground for a new forum. In particular, the drawing up of categories and principles such as reciprocity and refraining from impairing the security of the sides, approximate parity of total collective levels of armed forces and armaments, the possibility of the "mixed package" method in the approach to the resolution of armaments, the necessity of adequate verification, and measures to strengthen confidence and security, and others, have already proved useful and may be utilized in one form or another at the new talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Both sides, the ambassador said, can derive useful experience from the Vienna talks if they so desire.

A news conference was held after the conclusion of the final plenary session.

Further on Karpov, Omelichev Briefing

PM0202165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report under the rubric "On Military Affairs": "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] V.P. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Colonel General B.A. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, have spoken at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Seas."

It was pointed out, in particular, that the military balance in Europe, with due regard for all its constituents, may be described as an approximate parity that allows neither side to count on a decisive military advantage. At the same time a radical reduction in the present high concentration of armed forces and arms in Europe is needed in order to ensure stability in keeping with reasonable defensive sufficiency.

A journalist from the United Arab Emirates inquired: To what extent do the data on the strength of the NATO countries' armed forces and arms, which you have at your disposal, tally with reality?

"The data relating to NATO presented in the statement," B.A. Omelichev explained, "is based on the intelligence information at our disposal. The figures relating to the strength of the Warsaw Pact's armed forces and arms are absolutely accurate."

"Do your assessments of NATO arms differ greatly from those which the NATO bloc itself gives? And if so, does this not mean that the sides will get bogged down in arguments at the upcoming talks in Vienna in March?" a Soviet correspondent asked.

V.P. Karpov replied that such a danger exists. But this data is not being offered in order to assess in advance the correlation of forces that actually exists as a whole between the two alliances. The sides will agree on the categories of arms for which initial data are needed at the talks themselves.

A question from IZVESTIYA's correspondent:

"Has the Soviet Union abandoned its proposal to eliminate the Warsaw Pact and NATO military blocs?"

"This long-standing proposal of ours," the USSR deputy foreign minister emphasized, "still stands. The three-stage program for reducing troops and arms in Europe proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in Warsaw must lead, in the final analysis, to the following: When an exclusively defensive nature has been imparted to the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and when they are incapable of mounting offensive operations, then in that case the blocs' existence will be pointless."

"Is there a schedule for the reduction and withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European countries?"—this was the next question.

"This is a complex problem," Col Gen B.A. Omelichev replied. "The USSR Ministry of Defense is drawing up a corresponding plan. A schedule exists at present only in a general form. Its more profound elaboration by specialists is required."

V.P. Karpov added that certain steps by the Soviet Union have already been announced—in the GDR, for example. The 25th and 32d tank divisions, individual training subunits, and individual battalions will be withdrawn from that country's territory in 1989. The 7th and 12th tank divisions, an airborne assault division, and other formations will also be withdrawn in 1990. Similar data has been published for Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

Army's Chervov Interviewed on Pact Statement

PM0202142989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General N. Chervov, chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev: "That Is the Objective Picture"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Ponomarev] Recently the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee published a statement entitled "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters." How can this be assessed?

[Chervov] The publication of the statement shows that the new political thinking is becoming the determining factor in international life. The process of openness and glasnost, which is an essential element of that thinking, is continuing to deepen. At the same time the publication of the statement shows the seriousness and responsibility with which the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are approaching the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, which begin in March according to the Vienna meeting's mandate.

All this would have been unthinkable without the favorable changes taking place in the world—the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations, the reduction of tension, the growth in cooperation among states and peoples, the trends toward confidence-building in the military sphere, and the peace-loving Soviet initiatives.

[Ponomarev] What do you think is the most important point in the analysis of the figures on the correlation of forces between the two military alliances in Europe? Do they confirm the existence of military-strategic parity on the continent?

[Chervov] The figures published in the statement provide an objective and true picture of the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in Europe and adjoining waters. The comparison is based on a comprehensive approach which takes into account all armed forces components—ground forces, air forces, naval forces, air defense, and civil (territorial) defense forces. Incidentally, herein lies the fundamental difference between the Warsaw Pact document and the figures on the correlation of forces issued by the NATO leadership. The latter show a selective approach, a desire to exaggerate ground forces, tanks, and artillery—in other words, those components where the Warsaw Pact has the advantage—and to gloss over everything related to spheres where NATO has superiority—naval forces, strike aviation, and so forth.

I stress once again that the Defense Ministers Committee presented an objective picture which accurately reflects the true situation. Its statement clearly shows the imbalances and asymmetries. It shows that the Warsaw Pact has 1.9 times more tanks, 1.5 times more infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers, 1.3 times more artillery systems, and even 36 times more air defense interceptor planes. At the same time it showed that NATO has worrying advantages. In large surface ships, for example, it has a fivefold advantage, in strike aircraft a 50-percent advantage, and approximately the same advantage in antitank missile complexes. The revelation of these imbalances creates the conditions for making decisions on how to eliminate them and how to remove the two sides' misgivings.

But here is the important point: Despite the considerable imbalances, the two alliances' combat potentials are roughly equal. Neither side can count on success in the event that it launches an attack. Our figures are confirmed by the corresponding conclusions of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and a number of U.S. research centers. When all the components of the military balance in Europe are taken into account, it can be simply characterized as approximate parity. At the same time, the statement stresses, there must be a radical reduction in the present high concentration of armed forces and armaments in Europe so as to ensure stability corresponding to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

While exaggerating the imbalances which favor the Warsaw Pact, the NATO members claim that the unilateral reduction of armed forces achieves nothing, that asymmetries persist, and that the Warsaw Pact will still have superiority.

This, of course, is far from the truth. Readers will clearly be interested to know that, in accordance with decisions that have been made, the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries are going to reduce their armed forces in Europe very considerably—by a total of 296,300 men. There will be reductions of 12,000 tanks, 9,130 artillery systems, 930 warplanes, and other armaments. Military budgets will be cut by an average of 15 percent. By unilaterally reducing armed forces and armaments and changing the structure of the armed forces on the basis of defensive principles, the Warsaw Pact countries are making a major contribution to attaining peace and tranquility in Europe, Asia, and the world as a whole. This is an undoubted service by the Soviet Union and its allies to all mankind.

Under these conditions, as the statement said, the Warsaw Pact countries express the hope that the NATO states will demonstrate a similar readiness for speediest progress on the path toward strengthening stability and security in Europe, including via unilateral measures to reduce their armed forces and armaments.

[Ponomarev] Are we entitled to expect the talks on conventional armaments in Europe to achieve definite results within an acceptable period?

[Chervov] From the military-technical viewpoint the new talks are very complex. There is the volume of the armaments to be discussed—everyone can now get an idea of that from the statement—and there is the number of participants: 23 at the talks on conventional arms in Europe, 35 at the talks on confidence- and security-building measures. But I look to the future with optimism and hope, despite the sorry experience of the talks on armed forces reductions in central Europe.

Life requires urgent solutions. Europe is overflowing with weapons. Twenty days of combat operations would turn it all into a new Hiroshima. After all, there is a high population density here, over 200 nuclear power stations, a large number of chemical enterprises, and major nuclear arsenals. In addition the kill factors of conventional armaments continue to grow. The question is this: Either the conventional arms race continues and the risk of war increases, or military potentials are reduced before it is too late.

An analysis of the talks so far shows that even the most complex problems can be solved. Summit meetings are of special significance in this respect. The direct participation of states' leaders has already led to solutions more than once. That is why the Soviet proposal for an all-European Reykjavik—a conference of leaders of all the European states plus the United States and Canada, which could examine the question of conventional arms reduction—is so important. This proposal, if supported, will give a tremendous impetus to the solution of the problems that may arise at the Vienna talks.

[Ponomarev] The USSR has repeatedly suggested an exchange with NATO of official figures on the number and composition of each side's armed forces in Europe before those talks begin. Can the publication of the Defense Ministers Committee's statement be viewed as a step in that direction?

[Chervov] Indeed, M.S. Gorbachev has more than once spoken of the need to put one's cards on the table. In March last year USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov suggested an exchange of statistics to U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci. The same idea was expressed by E.A. Shevardnadze at a press conference in Washington.

But how did the NATO leadership respond? To be blunt, discourteously. It unilaterally published some figures, but it was impossible to compare the sides' military potentials on the basis of them. Nor can those figures form the basis of talks—the list of armaments to be included in them has still not been agreed on. NATO's whole "arithmetic" is tendentious and designed to revive the myth of the "Soviet military threat."

During the talks to agree on the list of armaments whose reduction is to be discussed the sides will clearly exchange specific figures. The Warsaw Pact countries are prepared for that. NATO says that it is ready, too. Well then, let us wait for the talks to begin.

The figures in the statement give us a clear picture—as soon as the reduction of ground forces begins, NATO's superiority in naval forces will acquire even greater significance.

NATO says: Let us begin with tanks as the most destabilizing type of armaments. But the whole experience of World War II and military conflicts in subsequent years shows the increasing role and potential of strike aviation. It can deliver strikes over a distance of 1,000 km in less time than it would take tanks even to reach offensive positions. Therefore, if we are thinking seriously about removing the threat of war, it is obviously necessary to begin by reducing strike aviation, while not forgetting tanks, of course.

It is also necessary to begin separate talks on naval forces. The upcoming talks on confidence-building measures must discuss the application of those measures to naval forces. After all, this is simply absurd. With ground forces everything is now monitored—not a single division leaves its military camp without notification. This has become clear in the 2 years since the Stockholm accords were reached, and there have been virtually no attempts to evade monitoring. But at sea, for some reason, nothing is monitored....

[Ponomarev] It is well known that the United States and NATO are preparing a new leap forward toward military superiority—they are stressing a "strategy of competition," the modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe, and so forth. In this regard many KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers have been expressing fears that our openness in the military sphere and the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces will result in a weakening of the country's defense capability. Are those fears justified?

[Chervov] NATO is indeed harboring plans for what may be called a second arms upgrading. This centers on the creation of the "Lance-2," a new tactical missile with a range of around 500 km and a new tactical missile in the Army Tactical Missile System, the equipment of nuclear artillery with new munitions, the development of new air-to-surface missiles for tactical aviation, the buildup of aircraft such as the F-16 and the F-111, the creation of promising, highly accurate weapons systems based on new technologies, and so forth. Decisions are to be made on these matters at the NATO Council's spring session or perhaps even earlier at the meeting of NATO countries' leaders planned for March. We are closely watching the development of events. If such decisions are made, they will place obstacles in the way of the talks.

As for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers' fears, I would advise them to look closely at the figures cited in the statement. They are evidence of concern to strengthen the country's defense capability and safeguard its security.

[Ponomarev] Let us turn from Europe to Asia. What is the correlation of military forces there? Is it possible to publish figures for that and other regions?

[Chervov] Some figures have already been published. It is well known that we are reducing our military grouping in Asia by 200,000 men. Some 75 percent of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia are being withdrawn. All this has been made possible by the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations and E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Beijing. In particular, the upcoming Soviet-Chinese summit should play a large role in developing those relations.

Our course of consolidating security in Asia is being pursued consistently. The Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Asia are being eliminated. The commitment not to build up tactical aviation and the number of nuclear-capable aircraft remains in force. We have not increased our armed forces grouping in the region. We have reduced a considerable number of Pacific Fleet ships.

In brief, the USSR is doing everything possible to make this a region of stability, security, and peace.

Soviet Commander, Envoy on Hungarian Withdrawal

LD0302030789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2206 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A news conference devoted to the recently published statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee has taken place in Budapest. In publishing data about the correlation of the numerical strengths of armed forces, Comrade Stukalin, the Soviet Union's ambassador to Hungary, stated that the USSR and its allies are convinced that an objective and complete picture of the correlation of the two military-political alliances in Europe is necessary today for the strengthening of peace and security on the continent.

In accordance with the Soviet Government's decision on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and weaponry, Colonel General Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of Forces, stated that 22 units are being withdrawn from Hungarian territory: a full tank division, a training tank regiment, an airborne assault battalion, a fighter plane regiment, a chemical defense battalion, and other individual units. All the troops, combat equipment, and weapons subject to withdrawal will be transferred to the Soviet Union by the end of 1990. The journalists learned that the overall area of the territory in military stations being handed over will come to 95 hectares, as well as around 40 installations, worth over R38 million, built by the Southern Group of Forces.

Great interest was prompted by this detail. With the aim of fulfilling a defensive doctrine, there has been a decision on the removal of Soviet units from the Hungarian border with Austria. The withdrawal of units from the towns of Szombathely and Gyor will not be a bad example in the business of the practical creation of a zone of security. [video shows Stukalin and Burlakov addressing meeting]

Bovin Views European Disarmament Issues

PM0302102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "European Concerns"]

[Text] At the beginning of January NEWSWEEK published an article which began as follows: "Bang your drum, toot your horn, strike up your musical instrument of choice: 1988 was a banner year. Wars came to an end. Missiles were destroyed. Each superpower spoke kindly of the other. Ronald Reagan gave a speech beneath a bust of Lenin, and Mikhail Gorbachev posed under the eye of the Statue of Liberty. Such doings are not the usual stuff of journalism, which all too often records the triumphs of famine, pestilence, and disaster. But this year the grouches and the cynics had to stand aside or else be buried under the cascade of good news."

This may be overemotional, but it is true that good news abounded. Now another piece of good news can be added—the successful completion of the Vienna meeting, which lasted 2 years and 3 months. This means that Europe, despite zigzags, despite temporary stoppages and even setbacks, continues to advance in the main direction outlined in Helsinki in the summer of 1975.

The Vienna meeting, E.A. Shevardnadze said, addressing the final session, "has shaken the 'iron curtain,' weakened its rusty fastenings, driven new breaches in it, and acclerated its corrosion." The new breaches are new contacts and new spheres for the exchange of people and ideas and for new constructive collaboration. They are new efforts to curb the expanding technosphere and to halt the advance of an ecological catastrophe. And, last but not least, it is the first serious attempt in the postwar period to embark on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in the continent, without which there can be no lasting political stability and hence no seismo-resistant "common European home." After all, the whole purpose of a common European edifice is to ensure security for each of its individual inhabitants and all of them together. And not just that, it is necessary to ensure that they know and feel that they are secure.

Until quite recently, practical policy, including ours, proceeded from the premise that the best way to preserve, strengthen, and increase one's security was to have more and better weapons. The new political thinking insists on a different relationship: The fewer weapons each party has, the greater the security they all enjoy. With much difficulty, breaking the ice of traditional dogmas and overcoming tremendous inertia, the new approach is beginning to enter into the practice of international life.

Nuclear strategy was the first to give way to the pressure of the times, circumstances, and reason. I would like to recall in this context the SALT I and SALT II Treaties which curbed the buildup of nuclear missile systems, and the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles which led to the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons. The treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons will be (if it materializes) another step along the path toward security through nuclear disarmament.

For understandable reasons the main problems of nuclear disarmament have been resolved within the framework of Soviet-U.S. relations. Now that the time has come for a serious discussion on conventional, nonnuclear weapons and their reduction, European issues and interests are moving to the forefront of the political stage. There are understandable reasons. There is no other region in the world where so many forces and armaments are concentrated as they are in Europe. For most European states, in view of the density of their population, developed industrial infrastructure, and dozens of nuclear power stations, "ordinary" conventional war would wreak destruction comparable to the consequences of a nuclear strike.

Therefore building a comfortable, sturdy "common European home" without taking care to considerably reduce the Europotential of annihilation would be a futile, short-sighted undertaking. Hence the urgency and topicality of Eurodisarmament, which brooks no delay.

This is the European backdrop, so to speak. But there are also circumstances of a more general nature that have heightened the attention to conventional arms.

For instance, the actual beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons and the realistic prospect that this process will continue. The following logic is applied here: The fewer nuclear weapons there are, the greater the importance of conventional weapons. The political context is the "Soviet threat," since the thesis of the USSR's frightening superiority in the sphere of conventional weapons has not been removed by the West from its propaganda arsenal. It is no accident that progress in nuclear disarmament is even now being made dependent on the reduction of conventional arms. The aim is "to pin down" the Soviet Union. This is a futile undertaking. We are no longer afraid of disarmament. But it must be mutual, of course.

The likelihood of the use of conventional weapons is incomparably greater than the likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons, as illustrated by our postwar history. The fear of a nuclear apocalypse is so great that the likelihood of an outbreak of a big war as a result of the deliberate use of nuclear weapons is extremely small now and in the future. Another scenario (barring accidents, of course) is regarded as more realistic: This is a nuclear war as a consequence of a "conventional" conflict escalating and getting out of control. In any event, regardless of the debatable nature of the proposed hypotheses, a considerable reduction of forces and armaments in the nonnuclear sphere would strengthen mutual trust and, consequently, reduce the likelihood of recourse to power—conventional or nuclear.

The expenditure for nuclear weapons occupies relatively little space in military budgets. The overall cost of conventional arms is much higher. Literally with every new year, with every new model, crammed with more and more electronic equipment and other marvels of technology, this cost is rising. It has been calculated, for instance, that while prior to 1945 the cost of military hardware doubled every 15 years, it now increases by a factor of 4.5 every 10 years. At the same time, incidentally, the reliability of the combat systems is decreasing while the cost of their material-technical servicing is rising. Generally speaking, a sort of "Bubka effect" comes into play—each new achievement calls for greater efforts, each new improvement in weapon specifications costs more and more and, consequently, the effectiveness of military expenditure is decreasing. Therefore as regards the impact of disarmament on the general well-being of the economy, it can be claimed that a tangible, stable effect can only be obtained when the stage of considerable cuts in the nonnuclear military potential is reached.

In general, it is high time to come to our senses, to stop intimidating each other, and to halt and reverse the arms race. In Europe, especially after M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, an understanding of this is growing and a movement is rising in favor of a radical review of East-West relations, in favor of easing the burden of armaments and delivering the continent from both nuclear weapons and a substantial part of conventional armaments and armed forces.

This mood is not to the liking of many people across the ocean. The Americans are trying to frighten their West European allies. The main theme is: Do not believe Gorbachev, do not succumb to his charm, he will twist you all around his little finger, and so on and so forth. Here are a few examples of what is being said:

First, I will let science speak. James Sherr, a fellow of Lincoln College: "Lenin claimed that you cannot gain a victory unless you know how to attack and how to retreat. Gorbachev is indeed retreating, but he is doing so with aggressive aims. Despite all Moscow's 'new thinking,' arms control remains an instrument of ideological struggle and military strategy. As a serious strategist, the Soviet Union is worried not about the numerical imbalance but about the imbalance of potentials. It is not seeking superiority in all spheres, only in the decisive spheres. It wants only an arms agreement which would legitimize a more sensible, economical, and powerful organization of the forces of the Warsaw Pact. We will not be able to resist this unless we grasp that Gorbachev's initiative marks a new stage in the East-West struggle, rather than the dying down of this struggle." These are the views of a theoretician. Practitioners express their thoughts much more laconically. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, paying tribute to Stalin for "having established NATO," warns against allowing Gorbachev to demolish the Atlantic bloc. Brent Scowcroft, the U.S. President's new national security adviser, believes that by means of his peace offensive Gorbachev wants to "sow discord within the Western alliance." This is a situation which is typical of America. On the one hand, both the administration and the public—with the exception of some, not very numerous, relics of the 'cold war'—favor a continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, and a progressive improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States. On the other hand, the demons of fear, distrust, and suspicion continue to torment American souls.

They are also tormenting Henry Kissinger. According to a report in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, he is trying to frighten the West Europeans with the following argument: "The creation of a united Europe on the territory from Moscow to the Atlantic can have one of two consequnces: Either the Soviet Union will, if its economy remains in the same state, constantly pump its resources, or it will become so strong that the rest of Europe will be Finlandized, and America will gradually be cut off from Europe." What next? Where does salvation lie? How can America's presence in Europe be preserved? Kissinger propposes that Europe be divided "along the Soviet-Polish border." Only in these circumstances, he concludes, "is it possible to consider an arms control agreement." This sort of question is not worth debating....

The struggle between different stances and different approaches in the West will continue. But whatever happens, everyone is in favor of negotiations on Euroarms, and they will open soon. They will be very complex, probably more so than the negotiations on nuclear weapons. There are many problems. The Warsaw Pact and NATO data on the two organizations' military potentials will have to be compared. It will be necessary to define what comes under the heading of offensive arms and what under defensive arms. It will be necessary to agree on the specific reductions Warsaw Pact and NATO countries will have to implement to eliminate asymmetries in individual types of armaments and armed forces. It will be necessary to agree on lower ceilings and the stages for achieving them. And verification, effective verification which leaves no loopholes for any kind of "ruses."

The negotiators are not to be envied. Or perhaps they should be envied for this very reason. After all, they are called upon to deal with a matter on which the future of Europe depends....

The difficulties that are inevitable during negotiations will, judging by appearances, be compounded by difficulties of a different nature, by political actions which cannot but complicate the atmosphere in Europe, and consequently also at the negotiations.

First, the champions of the military integration of Western Europe have stepped up their actions. The political and organizational center of this integration—the West European Union [WEU] (Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the FRG, and France) which was revived a few years ago is being expanded through the accession of Spain and Portugal. The 34th session of the WEU Assembly in December was attended by observers from Greece, Denmark, Norway, and Turkey. Western Europe's desire to enhance the degree of its freedom and increase its weight within NATO is understandable. However, in this case the means are clearly incommensurate with the aim. The view of Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, that the progress of detente calls for an even greater concentration of efforts on the military sphere is debatable, to say the least. The emergence in Europe of yet another military-political bloc (even if it is a subbloc) is not likely to promote negotiations on Eurodisarmament.

Second, NATO is setting a course toward a modernization of theater nuclear weapons to be deployed in Europe, to take place in parallel with the talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. In the opinion of the NATO nuclear planning group, "in the foreseeable future NATO will need the most varied, unassailable, and operationally flexible nuclear forces in Europe for the whole spectrum of ranges bearing in mind the scale and nature of the threat." This logic—aimed not at a "third zero" but as far away from it as possible—is clearly a step backward from what was achieved at the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The Soviet Union continues to believe that Europe needs a reduction of not just conventional but also nuclear weapons.

Third, vigorous efforts are under way in the Pentagon to work out the so-called rivalry (competitive) strategy. Its aim is to overtake and outstrip the USSR in the sphere of a new generation, science-intensive, high-technology, "smart" conventional weapons, that is to win the technological arms race. The advocates of this strategy are presenting it as an alternative to the traditional combination of conventional and nuclear deterrent forces, that is as the elimination of the nuclear threat. But this is somehow unsatisfactory, because the destructive force of many types of these new weapons will be comparable to nuclear weapons. Furthermore, what is the good, what is the sense of negotiating the reduction and elimination of existing weapons knowing that they will be replaced by new, more sophisticated, and lethal instruments of war?

It is impossible not to be pleased that success has been achieved in Vienna and that a meaningful and interesting final document was adopted. This is not just a sketch, but almost a blueprint for the "common European home." However, the words, phrases, and recommendations must be backed up by a readiness to turn them into practical actions. Moscow is expanding the intellectual and political horizons. In order to be able to see them, to see the Europe of tomorrow, the Europe of concord, it is necessary to rise above the normal level of political thinking. Verification is indeed necessary, but it is also necessary to trust each other.

In this context, both from the viewpoint of Europe's common problems and from the viewpoint of the problems of Eurodisarmament, a "European Reykjavik" would be very useful—a summit meeting of the leaders of Europe, the United States, and Canada. This idea remains on the agenda.

Bloc Cutbacks Challenge NATO 'Diehards'

PM3101121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[May Podklyuchnikov dispatch under the rubric "Abroad. Correspondents Comment": "Good Example"]

[Text] Berlin—The peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, which is unilaterally reducing its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, are being joined by initiatives from its Warsaw Pact allies. The GDR's decision has generated quite a response in the last few days. It has also announced a unilateral reduction in the numerical strength of its Armed Forces amounting to 10,000 men.

Due to the decisions of the USSR, the GDR, and other Warsaw Pact countries, a new situation is taking shape in central Europe. The concentration of armed forces on the line separating the two military blocs is lessening. The structure of socialist states' armies is changing, with a more consistently defensive character imparted to them. This fully accords with the defensive doctrine adopted at the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The fact that the German socialist state is contributng to the reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe merits a high assessment. Since the first days of its existence (the GDR is 40 years old this year) the country has implemented a consistent peace policy. Its every step in the international arena is imbued with a consciousness of its lofty responsibility for ensuring that another war never flares up on the European Continent.

The list of GDR foreign policy initiatives contains many important items. It attests to the fact that the German socialist state takes an active part in the quest for measures to help improve the international atmosphere. The ideas for creating a nuclear-free corridor and chemical weapons-free zone that it put forward together with the CSSR, and also the SED and Social Democratic Party [SPD] (FRG) document on creating a zone of trust and security in central Europe, have gained wide renown. The implementation of these ideas would accord with the fundamental interests of the peoples of our continent.

The world has a fitting opinion of the GDR's active foreign policy, which serves to develop good-neighborly relations among states. The present decision to cut armed forces has also evoked an extensive flood of approving responses. London's BBC reported that it is dictated by a desire to "make a further constructive contribution to the disarmament process." Stutzle, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, drew attention to the fact that the GDR initiative "is particularly interesting from the political viewpoint."

Understandably, the FRG public was the first to consider the significance of the step taken by the GDR. Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, drew attention to the fact that "the GDR and USSR share the same views in the disarmament sphere." STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG concluded that the decision adopted in Berlin "is fueling still further the debate on security questions within the Federal Republic." FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU pointed out that "pressure on NATO states and primarily the FRG" is increasing as a result.

The GDR press has published reports showing that the socialist countries' current decisions have caused confusion in Bonn and in Brussels, the seat of NATO headquarters. They are definitively destroying the stereotypes of the "threat from the East." Mass media organs indicate that these decisions "cannot be met with an increase in the length of military service, an increase in the military budget, and missile modernization."

DEUTSCHLANDFUNK radio noted that "hard times await the military diehards."

The facts prompt the following conclusion: Is it not time for NATO strategists to abandon outmoded stereotypes and move to thoughts of disarmament? The Warsaw Pact countries have set a good example. To follow it is to act in the spirit of the times.

Pact Initiatives Contribute to Geneva Conference

LD0202211889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An international conference on the problems and prospects of reducing conventional arms in Europe has taken place in Geneva.

[V. Dmitriyev] The meeting was organized by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research. The institute provides scientific assistance to diplomats participating in international disarmament negotiations. The strategic doctrines of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the development of East-West relations, the state of affairs in the sphere of conventional arms in Europe, and vertification measures were discussed at the conference. Two events have had a favorable influence on the conference' work: the USSR's decision to reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men on a unilateral basis, and the accord reached in Vienna by the states participating in the pan-European conference. [video shows scenes from conference, including two shots of the USSR's Karpov]

[NATO Assistant Secretary General H.H. Wegener, in French fading into superimposed Russian translation and paraphrase by Dmitriyev] In my opinion, this conference has been held at the most opportune time possible, at a key moment in history. The European countries, including the Soviet Union, and the United States, are preparing for very important negotiations on reducing armed forces and weaponry in Europe. The results of the present meeting can contribute considerably to the business of preparing the negotiations successfully. Assessing the Soviet initiatives set out in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, Mr Wegener said that it is a step of exceptional importance in the correct direction. However, the reduction cannot yet lead to stability in the sphere of conventional arms in Europe. [video shows Dmitriyev and Wegener talking in foyer]

Petrovskiy Receives UN Disarmamament Official

LD0202212489 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy on Thursday received J. Dhanapalu, director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). The two men discussed a wide range of issues on ensuring international security and the role of disarmament in tackling global problems.

Vladimir Petrovskiy gave a high appraisal of UNIDIR activity and reaffirmed Soviet support for its efforts.

CSCE Consultative Meeting Views Vienna Talks

LD0302100189 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia February 3 TASS—The results of the Vienna meeting have justified the expectations of the European public. This was noted at the Sofia consultative meeting of representatives of a number of socialist countries' committees for European security and cooperation. It was attended by envoys of Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Commenting on its results, chairman of Bulgaria's National Committee for European Security and Cooperation Boris Tsvetkov said that the Vianna forum led to consolidation of the basis for joint actions to conslidate the process of detente.

Parallel public forums in the countries and cities, which are planned, in line with the Vienna accords, to play host to official level conferences, could be of great significance for the development of international dialogue, he said.

Yakovlev Addresses Bloc Envoys in Moscow

PM0302104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met the heads of a number of socialist countries' diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow on 2 February.

A.N. Yakovlev talked about the main problems and contradictions in the present phase of restructuring in the Soviet Union, progress in implementing economic reform and the reform of the political system, and the reorganization of all links of the CPSU apparatus. In particular, it was pointed out that Soviet legislation is being brought into line with our commitments under international conventions ratified by the USSR.

A.N. Yakovlev described the party work of broadening democratization and glasnost, enhancing Soviet people's social and civil rights, and preparing for the election of USSR people's deputies. The socialist countries' representatives were briefed on the state of affairs in the nationalities sphere and the efforts to overcome the difficulties therein, rooted in the distant and recent past.

Questions of international policy figured largely. It was noted that 1988 was notable by and large for the predominance of constructive development trends. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles entered into force. The preconditions were created for major decisions on nuclear and conventional arms reductions, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, and the restructuring of states' military potential on consistently defensive principles. The successful completion of the Vienna meeting, notably the elaboration of a mandate for talks among the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, was pointed out. Definite positive changes have been achieved in settling regional conflicts. The role of the socialist countries' enterprising policy and their cooperation in resolving topical tasks of international security and ensuring a peaceful future for mankind were particularly stressed.

The following ambassadors took part in the meeting: G. Pankov, Bulgaria; S. Rajnai, Hungary; Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV; G. Koenig, GDR; Kwon Hui-kyon, DPRK; Julio Camacho Aguilera, Cuba; T. Gurbadam, Mongolia; I. Bucur, Romania; and J. Rehorek, CSSR; and the following temporary charges d'affaires, Leng Peng Long, PRK; K. Sitlakon, Lao People's Democratic Republic; and J. Smolinski, Poland.

Bloc Foreign Ministry Aides Meet in Prague

PM0202162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interested Discussion"]

[Text] Prague, 1 Feb—A meeting of leaders of the foreign policy planning subdepartments of the Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministries was held in Prague 31 January and 1 February 1989. Representatives of the allied countries' foreign ministries conducted an active exchange of opinions on the subject "Trends in the Modern World and the European Socialist Countries' Development Prospects." The discussion was of a lively and interested nature.

P. Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister, received the meeting participants.

Foreign Ministry Briefing on Current Issues

Afghan Situation Assessed

LD0202225589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] A briefing on current issues of international politics for Soviet and foreign journalists took place today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, spoke at the briefing. Referring to the situation around Afghanistan, he said in part:

[Perfilyev] Over the last few days the military- political situation in Afghanistan has been relatively stable. The rebels have adopted a waiting position. Government troops took measures to disrupt hostile preparations by the opposition. The enemy failed to organize an economic blockade of Kabul, thanks to operations protecting and clearing the areas adjacent to the Hayratan-Kabul route, getting through columns with foodstuffs and fuel, and organizing an air bridge from the border areas of the Soviet Union, and also thanks to operations by the security forces to uncover saboteurs and those hiding foodstuffs.

The rebels are not stopping their attempts to blockade provincial and urban centers to prevent the delivery of staple goods there. They are succeeding in maintaining blockades of the cities of Gardeyz and Khowst, and a number of district centers in the area bordering Pakistan. To stabilize the situation, government troops conducted clearing operations in a number of areas ocupied by the rebels. In the main, the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan conducted military operations, using bombing, assault, and artillery strikes, which inflicted considerable losses on the enemy.

U.S. State Department official Redman has not for the first time voiced reproaches against the Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan, saying they are allegedly applying scorched-earth tactics, continuing bombing raids, and so on. There is a war in Afghanistan, the speediest end to which the Soviet Union has sincerely wished and continues to wish for. We are making intensive political efforts toward that at every level. In strict observance of the Geneva agreements, we are taking our troops out of the country and we consider that this creates conditions for establishing dialogue between the opposing Afghan forces. It is to be very much regretted that the calls for sense and realism are not finding the appropriate response from the Afghan opposition. It is the opposition's fault that a dramatic situation has arisen in Afghanistan, in its capital and a number of major cities. Thousands of trucks with wheat are being held up by the forces of the armed opposition some 180 km from the capital. Under these conditions the Soviet Union is taking measures to alleviate the situation of the local population. It is not our fault that in order to ensure the delivery of foodstuffs and goods to Kabul we are compelled to use force in breaking through the blockade.

We deeply regret the casualties among the civilian population in the area of the fighting. At the same time, we cannot leave without mentioning the fact that the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and our command repeatedly suggested to the civilian population that they leave these areas, but the armed opposition impeded their displacement.

We would like our troops to leave the territory of Afghanistan peacefully, not wanting unnecessary casualties and destruction. But we cannot stand idle when we are impeded in the fulfillment of this task.

I would particularly like to emphasize that the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan is not a flight but a systematic action taken in order to fulfill our obligations under the Geneva agreements.

We have already repeatedly stressed the necessity of establishing a coalition government in Afghanistan on the broadest possible basis. Now the Pakistanis and mujahidin are discussing compromise ways of creating in Peshawar a consultative body—shura - for subsequent formation of a provisional government in Afghanistan. The word shura, by the way, translates into Russian as council. The idea itself could probably be acceptable, but everything depends on what basis the creation of this shura is planned and why on Pakistani territory. On the whole, an attempt to establish any Afghan Government on foreign territory does not bode well. If this body is created on a basis other than cooperation of all forces, including the PDPA, it will merely mean the formation of an opposition body which will have no effect whatsoever on the political settlement in Afghanistan.

Regret Over Redman 'Scorched Earth' Remarks

LD0202143489 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The Soviet Union is withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan in strict compliance with the Geneva accords, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here on Thursday.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, pointed out that the USSR believed that the pullout was creating conditions for establishing a dialogue between opposing forces in that country.

He expressed regret that the calls for reason and realism were not evoking a proper response from the Afghan opposition, referring to remarks by U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman accusing Soviet troops of leaving behind "scorched earth" and continuing bombing runs.

A dramatic situation had developed in the capital and several other major Afghan cities due to the opposition, Perfilyev went on to say. The two million strong population of Kabul are faced with the threat of hunger due to a blockade. Thousands of truck-loads of wheat are being held up by armed opposition units 180 kilometres from the capital.

Under these conditions, the Soviet Union is undertaking measures to alleviate the plight of the local population. "It is not our fault that we are compelled to use force to secure the deliveries of food through the blockade," Perfilyev pointed out.

"We deeply regret civilian casualties in areas near the fighting. The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Command repeatedly advised local inhabitants to leave these areas, but the armed opposition hampered their movement.

We want our troops to leave Afghan territory undisturbed, without unnecessary casualties and destruction. But we cannot remain indifferent when faced with attempts to hinder the fulfilment of this task." [quotation marks as received]

Further Support for Afghanistan Discussed

LD0202165489 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The USSR will continue to exert every effort to preserve its goodneighborly relations with Afghanistan, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign ministry Information directorate, told a news briefing here on Thursday. He said that during their recent visits to Afghanistan senior Soviet officials discussed with the Afghan leadership further assistance to Afghanistan in the economic, financial and, if need be, in military field.

"We cannot share the predictions which are widely spread abroad that the Kabul regime will collapse following the withdrawal of Soviet troops," Vadim Perfilyev said. "The strong positions of the government in a number of major Afghan cities—Herat, Qandahar and Jalalabad, which have been retained for many months after the Soviet withdrawal from there—testify to the opposite."

The Soviet Union on many occasions stressed the need to set up a coalition government in Afghanistan on a most broad basis, the Soviet spokesman continued. The representatives of Pakistan and mujahideens are currently discussing compromise ways of creating a consultative body, shura, in Peshawar for the subsequent formation of a provisional government in Afghanistan. This idea, he said, can be acceptable, but everything depends on what basis shura will be formed.

"The attempt to create any Afghan Government on alien territory promises nothing good, "Vadim Perfilyev stressed. "If this body is created on a basis other than cooperation of all forces, including the PDPA, it will only mean another opposition body which will have no influence on the political settlement in Afghanistan. If it involves all forces representing the country's population, including the properly represented PDPA, it will be a useful body leading to the creation of a broadly-based government. A goal for which the UN General Assembly called unanimously."

U.S. Chemical Weapons Charges 'Groundless'

LD0202173889 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—"The accusations of the Soviet Union by the U.S. mass media of violating the 1972 convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological and toxin weapons are absolutely groundless," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today. As an example of such accusations he mentioned the publication in THE WASHINGTON TIMES of January 19.

These accusations are made despite the fact that the Soviet Union has fulfilled precisely and on schedule the arrangements on confidence-building measures that were achieved by the participating countries in the convention at the second conference to observe its implementation, held in 1986, Perfilyev said. The Soviet Union's reports sent to the United Nations in 1987 and 1988 contain detailed information about research centres and laboratories that are specialising in conducting the permitted biological activity directly related to the convention. Altogether 16 such centres were mentioned. Two of them (with sectors and a field laboratory) are in charge of the USSR Defence Ministry, while the others are in charge of the USSR Health Ministry and the Health Ministry of Belorussia, the USSR Ministry of medico-Biological Industry, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Agri-Industrial committee. These centres and laboratories are engaged in working out methods of prevention and treatment of various diseases, studies of virus biology, the production of vaccines.

The reports also mentioned the facts or the absence of outbreaks of infectious diseases or similar toxin-caused phenomena different from usual such phenomena in the USSR territory in the aforementioned years.

Another such report is being prepared now, Perfiliyev said. It will be referred by the Soviet Union to the United Nations by April 15, 1989, as required by an international arrangement.

The U.S. side was supplied more than once with additional information on its questions about some facilities mentioned in the USSR's lists. "As to the United States, it manifested the strange 'forgetfulness' in 1987 and

1988. It either did not report to the United Nations about its research centres or laboratories having contracts with the U.S. Department of Defense for research for preventive and protective purposes or it provided incomplete information, or else it made unjustifiably long delays about providing such information, and failed to meet the established schedule," Perfiliyev noted.

Link with Ziaul Haq's Death Denied

LD0202151189 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—"Absolute nonsense", this is what a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing on Thursday regarding allegations that the Soviet Union was implicated in the crash in August 1988 of the plane carrying Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq. These allegations are contained in an article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak published in THE WASHINGTON POST of February 1.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, noted that the investigation of the causes of the crash of the presidential plane had been conducted simultaneously by a Pakistani governmental commission and a commission of U.S. experts. The official conclusions made by the Pakistani and U.S. authorities do not contain any charges against third countries.

Meanwhile various versions appeared in the press regarding causes of the crash. There were assertions about the complicity in the crash of the U.S. secret services dissatisfied with Ziaul Haq's nuclear programme and the rapprochement with certain Islamic countries on the basis of Islamic fundamentalism.

As to the reasons which prompted THE WASHINGTON POST to make allegations against the Soviet Union, Perfilyev said there still exist forces that do not like positive changes now taking place in the world, and, specifically, in the Asia-Pacific region. By all indications, some peoples are displeased also with the prospects of normalisation of Soviet-Pakistani relations. Perhaps it isn't an accident that the article was published in THE WASHINGTON POST on the eve of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Pakistan. "In short, we have at hand a characteristic example of deliberate misinformation in the spread of which Rowland Evans and Robert Novak are experts", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

No Soviet Submarines in Swedish Waters

LD0202151689 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—"One has to state with all responsibility that there are no Soviet submarines in Swedish waters," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here on Thursday.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's information directorate, responded at a briefing to claims by the commander of the Swedish navy, Vice Admiral Bengt Schuback at the annual conference of the Swedish public organisation "people and defence" that "submarines continued to violate our borders and they come from the Soviet Union."

The Soviet spokesman agreed with the remarks by the general secretary of the Swedish Foreign Ministry to the effect that "no responsible government can come up with statements similar to those made by Vice Admiral Schuback, based on pure speculation or amateur sleuth behaviour."

The more so, Perfilyev said, the head of Sweden's Chief Defence Staff emphasised that "We have no grounds whatsoever to point at the nationality of those responsible for the violations."

Bessmertnykh Receives Romanian, Egyptian Envoys

PM0202123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 24 January A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

On the same day A.A. Bessmertnykh invited A. Mahir al-Sayyid, Egyptian ambassador to the Soviet Union, for a conversation, during which they discussed the most important aspects of the situation in the Near East as well as prospects for the development of Soviet-Egyptian political dialogue.

Moscow Meeting on Northern Ecology Ends

LD0102233489 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—Problems of the ecology of the North were discussed at the first meeting of parliamentarians of Denmark, Iceland, Canada, Norway, the Soviet Union, Finland and Sweden which was held in Moscow on January 31 - February 1. There was an exchange of opinions, information and experience on a wide range of subjects. As a result of two days of plenary meetings and work in sections, the participants in the conference arrived at the consensus on a number of fundamental questions.

First of all, they unanimously expressed the opinion that the meeting was useful and interparliamentary debates on environment should be continued in future. They declared in favour of the role of the United Nations and the Helsinki process in environmental protection, specifically in the North increasing. Essentially important is the conclusion about the need to make measures to pass on to such forms and methods of economic development as would be ecologically pure, resource-and-energy saving.

It is desirable that the particpating countries, just as other states, should join in the existing conventions on environmental protection, particularly protection of the environment of the North, to which they have not yet joined and should ratify the conventions to which they have joined but which they have not yet ratified, including the United Nations convention on the Law of the Sea. But the main thing, naturally, is that all countries should consistently implement the international obligations they assumed in the area of environmental protection.

The participants in the meeting declared in favour of consideration and solution of such problems as joint development of norms and standards of quality of separate elements of the environment, particularly in the north, the implementation of the international monitoring and control over the state of the environment, the exchange of advanced technology in the area of rational use of nature on a mutual basis, the stimulation of scientific research and exchange of its results.

It was deemed expedient and useful to exchange information on the activity of parliaments of Nordic countries in the area of ecology, on corresponding national legislation, its upgrading and use. The participants in the Moscow meeting also noted the importance and spread of ecological education, knowledge, information, popularisation of the ideas of environmental protection, concept of stable development endorsed by the United Nations, the adoption of joint practical measures in the area.

Lukyanov Receives Parliamentarians

LD0100211500 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—The solution to environmental problems is a road to the growth of mutual understanding in the world and, consequently, a road to easing international tension. This opinion was expressed by participants in the Moscow meeting of parliamentarians of North European countries and Canada on ecological problems of the North. They were received in the Kremlin today by Anatoliy Lukyanov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Comnmittee, first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Our meeting takes place in a period important for the Soviet people, a period of vigorous work for revolutionary restructuring of every area in the life of society—economy, the political system, spiritual and moral principles", Lukyuanov said. "The ever greater importance is attached in the country to questions of environmental protection, of rational use of natural resoures, removal of shortcomings and at times serious miscalculations in the area."

At the present stage of the development of the human civilization, ecological security are second in importance and topicality only to the elimination of nuclear menace in humankind's struggle for survival. Ecological security objectively becomes an indispensable part of the process of shaping comprehensive security, he went on to say.

The working out and successful implementation of the global strategy of environmental protection is possible only on a multilateral basis and only in conditions of peace. "Ecological problems are inseparable from the process of disarmament", Lukyanov emphasized. "It is impossible to protect purity of the sea while it is plied by warships".

He told those present that a national report on the ecological situation in the country is being drafted in the USSR. It will contain complete data also about such ecological disasters as the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

Addressing the meeting, representatives of Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden noted the positive importance of the forum of parliamentarians held in Moscow. They declared for working out coordinated appraisals and recommendations, for taking coordinated actions to ensure environmental protection of the north, whose contemporary state is a cause for serious concern. Our initiatives are not effective enough without international programmes for solving ecological problems, Canada's representative Pauline Browes said in this connection.

Need For Dialogue Noted

PM0202154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For Environmental Safety"]

[Text] In the Kremlin on 1 February A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received the participants in the Moscow meeting of parliamentarians from the Nordic countries and Canada on questions of the environment of the north.

A.I. Lukyanov noted that the meeting is taking place at a remarkable period for the Soviet people of active work in the revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of society's life—the economy, the political system, and spiritual and moral principles. Ever-increasing significance is being attached in the country to questions of environmental protection, the rational use of natural resources, and eliminating the shortcomings and, sometimes, serious mistakes in this work.

The attention of the participants was drawn to the proposals on environmental questions put forward in

M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech last December and also in the Murmansk program. It was stressed that at the present stage of the development of human civilization, environmental safety is becoming in its significance and topicality the second front of the struggle for mankind's survival after the elimination of the nuclear threat and is objectively becoming an integral part of the process of establishing all-embracing security. The Soviet Union rates highly the UN-approved Brundtland commission report "Our Common Future" and the conclusions it contains.

The development and successful implementation of the global strategy of nature protection activity are possible only on a multilateral basis and only in conditions of peace. As a result of the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting, which opens a new and higher stage in the implementation of the goals and tasks of the CSCE process, there are additional favorable prospects for the deepening of cooperation on environmental problems, too.

The representatives of Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, who spoke at the meeting, noted the positive significance of the parliamentarians' forum held in Moscow. They advocated the elaboration of coordinated assessments and recommendations, the implementation of agreed actions aimed at protecting the environment of the North, whose present state causes grave fears, and the more active involvement of organs of popular representation in that process.

The meeting pointed to the need to speed up the beginning of intergovernmental dialogue involving all the Arctic states which could result in the signing of a declaration, convention, or other multilateral accord dedicated to protecting the Arctic environment.

United States & Canada

Bush, Takeshita Hold Talks To 'Get Acquainted'

LD0202205289 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 2 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

Talks started at the White House between U.S. President George Bush and Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who is in the United States on an eight-day visit.

The head of the Japanese Government is the first foreign leader to meet Bush after his inauguration as U.S. President. The meeting at the White House serves as a prelude to a series of talks which Noboru Takeshita will hold in Washington with senior officials of the American administration and members of the U.S. Congress. According to the UPI news agency, these meetings were called upon to demonstrate the warmth of bilateral relations.

Bush and Takeshita are expected to focus on economic relations and cooperation in the military field. Without doubt, the talks with the head of the Japanese Government will deal with the huge U.S. deficit in trade with Japan, which hit a record high of 60 billion dollars in 1987. A number of legislators demand that Tokyo give greater access into the Japanese internal market for American farm produce and electronics. It is widely believed, however, that every effort will be made to gloss over these contradictions during Takeshita's stay in the U.S. capital.

As a senior spokesman for the Administration said on Wednesday [1 February], no "miracles" should be expected from the talks between Bush and Takeshita. The meeting is held not to conclude any agreements...the purpose of this meeting is for the leaders to get acquainted with each other, to set the tone and guidelines for cooperation in relations between the two countries, the spokesman said.

Bush Wants To Eradicate Defense Funds Squandering

PM0202131789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "G. Bush on Control for Pentagon"]

[Text] Washington, 1 Feb—On Tuesday U.S. President George Bush visited the Norfolk naval base (Virginia) which is the largest on the U.S. Atlantic seaboard. On the aircraft carrier "America" he addressed the ship's crew and the workers of the shipyard here.

Touching on the question of appropriations for the Pentagon's needs, Bush stated the need "to definitively eradicate the squandering and incorrect expenditure of funds" in this field. "We want to introduce stricter control and to establish higher standards in buying arms and we will achieve this," he said.

It is by no means fortuitous that it was to this topic that Bush devoted his first trip outside the capital as 41st President of the United States. The scandal over swindling by the Pentagon's military contractors and representatives, which erupted under the Reagan administration, continues to this day. Investigation is now continuing into a number of cases in which Defense Department employees passed on secret information to corporations in exchange for bribes, thus enabling them to get military contracts on more advantageous terms.

Vorotnikov Receives U.S. Ambassador Matlock

LD0102174389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—Vitaliy Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, today received U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock. A conversation took place which touched upon questions of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in the current stage, and in which certain international problems were discussed. At the ambassador's request he was apprised of individual aspects of restructuring; the development of interethnic relations in the USSR; and the course of the election campaign. Interest was expressed by both sides in expanding diverse ties between the RSFSR and its oblasts and towns, and U.S. states and towns. The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Businessman Giffen

LD0102223789 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—A well-known representative of the U.S. business community, chairman of an American trade consortium, James Giffen, was received today by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh. They discussed prospects of economic cooperation between the two countries.

U.S. To Treat Armenian Children Injured in Quake

LD0302091889 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 3 TASS—White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater reported on Thursday that the U.S. Administration has decided to treat five Armenian children at a U.S. military hospital. They had been injured during the earthquake. At the request of the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, the White House spokesman said, the Armenian children will be taken to West Germany where they will be placed in a U.S. military hospital.

The state of these children is critical and their lives are in danger, said Fitzwater. Another 31 children injured during the Armenian earthquake will also be taken to U.S. hospitals next week, Fitzwater noted.

U.S. Billionaire Funds Joint Cultural Foundation

PM0202173189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 12

[A. Sokolov report: "We Are Waiting for Ideas"]

[Text] "The Cultural Initiative" is the name of a new Soviet-U.S. foundation. Its founders are the Soviet Cultural Fund, the Soviet Peace Fund, and the "Soros Fund" named after George Soros, the prominent U.S. economist and billionaire.

It will finance the Soviet public's initiatives and projects in the spheres of culture, science, education, public health, and social security. The main aim is to expand opportunities for creative activity.

The fund will finance ideas. The organizers realize, of course, that the authors of original ideas need not only money but also various other kinds of support, but nonetheless they are only taking care of expenses. Which amount, incidentally, to quite a sum.

The fund's board, which includes famous public figures from our country, has already chosen 25 of the most worthy ideas out of 2,300. Here are a few of them: "Stalin's Activities in Science," (videotapes of conversations with witnesses and victims of his activities in science), "Music of the Past," (the organization of an exhibition of ancient keyboard instruments), "Competitive Assessments" (the creation of expert systems to decide the winner in competitions), "Youth Subculture" (a study of the phenomenon of informal associations), "Ecoapparatus" (the organization of cooperative science-and-production laboratories).... So, this year these projects will receive support both in rubles and dollars.

Soviet social organizations' interest in this fund is quite understandable. But why is the U.S. billionaire interested in it? This is what G. Soros himself says: "Why did I, a foreigner, initiate the establishment of a joint foundation in the Soviet Union? The answer is simple. I want to support the new thinking proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Restructuring in the Soviet Union is very significant for the whole of mankind. I mean not only the obvious truth that the changes in the Soviet Union are influencing the entire world. The closed society has already demonstrated its shortcomings... But the crash of one type of social organization does not presuppose the success of another. Open society derives its powers from numerous sources of creative energy. These sources were so hopelessly buried by Stalin that, I think, the Soviet people will need time to free their creative energy. 'The Cultural Initiative' is intended to help and accelerate this process.

"I am a passionate supporter of open society. It was precisely this which made me decide to set up such a foundation first in my mother country—Hungary—then in China, and now also in the Soviet Union, where I met prominent people who shared my intentions."

So, all that remains to be done is to list those who think like G. Soros. These people are Yu. Afanasyev, G. Baklanov, T. Buachidze, D. Granin, T. Zaslavskaya, V. Rasputin, and B. Raushenbakh. And others. Anyone who has ideas and projects can send them to the following address: "The Cultural Initiative Foundation," B-78, Moscow. We wish you success.

Canadians Allow U.S. Cruise Missile Tests

LD0202152189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 2 Feb. TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

The Canadian Government has satisfied the request of the U.S. Administration on holding in the Canadian northwest tests of the U.S. cruise missile with an all-improved design. What is involved is a missile developed using "stealth" technology, and intended for dealing a "first strike" against the Soviet Union. As remarked in Soviet diplomatic circles, the decision by the Canadian government runs counter to the positive trends which, particularly of late, have characterized the development of Soviet-Canadian relations.

For the United States, the most attractive aspect of the U.S.-Canadian agreement on the testing of cruise missiles is that in terms of its profile, Canadian territory is quite similar to northern regions of the Soviet Union. Washington's intention to continue the development and testing of offensive weapons places in doubt the sincerity of responsible United States officials' assurances about the continuity of the political course of the new administration with regard to the USSR. In Moscow, it is felt that this step in no way facilitates the strengthening of an atmosphere of trust in Soviet-US relations.

China

Shevardnadze, PRC's Qian Qichen Begin Talks

'Constructive Dialogue' Continues

OW0202170889 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze began talks with his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, in Beijing today. The foreign ministers of the two countries have pointed out that the talks will be a continuation of the constructive dialogue started in Moscow last December. Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen will work out arrangements for a Soviet-Chinese summit.

Shevardnadze arrived in Beijing yesterday. In a statement made upon his arrival, he expressed the hope that the talks will promote further changes for the better in Soviet-Chinese relations as well as improve the regional and global situation. He said: The upcoming summit will open a new chapter in the history of relations between our two neighboring countries.

After his visit to China, Shevardnadze will visit Pakistan.

First Round Focuses on Cambodia

LD0202123389 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Excerpt] In Peking, the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and China, Eduard Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen, have completed the first round of talks. A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has described the meeting as cordial and frank. According to him, the ministers focused on Kampuchean settlement. The talks of the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers in Peking are a continuation of the dialogue stated last December in Moscow. Eduard Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen are preparing for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. [passage omitted]

Peace, Development Main Topics

OW0202135389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1210 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Hello, Comrades: Talks between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and his colleague Qian Qichen began today in Beijing. According to reports from the Chinese capital, the first official visit of our minister in some 30-odd years is being held successfully in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere of good will.

The main topics of the dialogue that has started are peace and development. The processes of restructuring, reforms, and socialist renewal, which are under way in our two countries, have also radically changed the foreign policy concepts of Moscow and Beijing and their approaches to international problems. The forthcoming meeting at the summit level will undoubtedly be a historic stage in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. During these days the foreign affairs ministers of China and the Soviet Union will have to complete the direct preparations for the meeting and agree on the time for it.

Chinese press attests that both sides understand the significance of the forthcoming event. The West understands this as well. In particular, here is the opinion of Robert Manning, famous American political scientist. He published an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES which has a significant headline: There is No Need to Beware of the Sino-Soviet Detente. In particular, he writes in the article that the Eduard Shevardnadze visit to Beijing signifies a new landmark in the rapprochement process between the two countries. This process is developing without kettledrums beating, Professor Manning notes, although it is changing the whole political landscape in Asia. It is already promoting the establishment of a safer and less militant world, and all these things undoubtedly signify good news for the West as well, the American political scientist concludes.

Reportage on Visit, Shevardnadze's Activities

PRAVDA on Talks, Speeches

PM0302101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 5,7

[TASS report: "Visit to Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 2 Feb (TASS special correspondent)—Talks began here today between E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who is on an official visit to China, and Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister.

They opened with a one-on-one meeting of the ministers at which the key questions for discussion were determined and the procedure for work was agreed.

Both sides confirmed that they see the main aim of the talks to be to prepare for the meeting of the top leaders of the USSR and the PRC, which will mark the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The exchange of opinions continued on a range of problems which had already been the subject of mutual examination during the visit to the USSR in December, 1988 by the PRC foreign minister, and during his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Regarding the overall normalization of bilateral relations, questions of military detente in the region of the Soviet-Chinese border were discussed. An understanding was reached in principle on setting up the mechanism for the talks: a group of diplomatic and military experts which could undertake both the drafting of general principles and the resolution of specific problems in the reduction of armed forces and armaments, including working out measures of trust in the military sphere.

The importance of achieving further progress at the talks on a border settlement, whether it be the eastern or western part of the Soviet-Chinese border, was noted.

The ministers paid considerable attention to examining the course of the Cambodian settlement, and to the processes which have been developing lately in South East Asia, in which the change from confrontation to dialogue, from tension to cooperation is becoming the leading trend. Ideas were expressed about how the USSR and PRC can to the maximum extent facilitate the elimination of the existing regional conflict.

The talks, which are proceeding in a friendly and frank atmosphere, will be continued.

PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen hosted a dinner in honor of E.A. Shevardnadze.

Welcoming the high Soviet guest, he said:

First of all, let me warmly welcome Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister who has arrived in our country on an official visit, and also warmly greet all those who are accompanying the comrade minister in this trip of Soviet comrades.

Recently, 2 months ago, we met in Moscow, and now we meet again here in Beijing to continue the dialogue which we began in Moscow for the further preparation of the Sino-Soviet summit meeting. I am very glad.

My visit to Moscow, as the beginning in the process of normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations, ended with positive results. Together, comrade minister, we held serious and businesslike talks on issues of bilateral relations, particularly on the Cambodian problem. I also had an important and meaningful conversation with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Although there still remain problems for us requiring further effort from both sides, so that they are discussed more deeply and resolved, we have nevertheless already reached a common view on quite a few aspects in the general plan of things. Thus, the field of mutual understanding has expanded concerning the Cambodian problem, and the points of contact have increased.

Both our countries agree that China and the Soviet Union ought to establish relations of a new type on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Both sides reckon that the improvement and normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations should promote peace and stability worldwide, and that they will not be to the detriment of the interests of any other state.

The results of the visit which took place were welcomed and appraised positively by the Chinese and Soviet peoples and also by the whole of the world public. The facts show that however complex the issues and however short the timescale, as long as both sides are sincere with each other and are disposed toward a frank dialogue, the difficulties can be overcome and progress can be ensured. I sincerely hope that the positive spirit that typified the earlier Moscow talks will find its best embodiment in the current Beijing talks.

We already started work this morning. Preparing for organizing a meeting between the leaders of the two countries is an important and responsible mission. Today the whole world is awaiting the forthcoming Chinese-Soviet summit meeting, and following the process with great attention, so we must double our efforts in order to make even more progress in our results. I would like to point out in particular that the Cambodian issue is continuing to develop in a direction favorable for a political settlement. The PRC and USSR, as two powers interested in the Cambodian issue, should continue their constructive efforts to facilitate the earliest possible, just, and rational solution of that issue. In this connection, we hope that mutual understanding between us on the Cambodian issue will be expanded and enhanced, and that a new mutual understanding will be reached by means of all-around and deepened exchanges of opinions. We are ready to continue serious, specific discussions on the important question of future relations between China and the Soviet Union. We shall also discuss with you other important bilateral issues which are of common interest, as well as various aspects of the work preparatory to a summit meeting. Our first meeting was conducted today in an atmosphere of frankness [otkrovennost]. Tomorrow we shall continue our negotiations. I sincerely wish and am sure that, thanks to the common efforts of both sides, our negotiations will end with the desired results.

Respected comrade minister! During your stay in China you will meet President Deng Xiaoping and Premier Li Peng. These meetings and conversations will be the most momentous part of your present visit, and will at the same time be extremely important events in the process of improving and developing relations between our two countries.

The 40th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of China is being celebrated this year. Our country has achieved enormous success over the past 40 years. Ten years ago, the CPC and the Chinese people, generalizing their experience and deriving lessons from the events of the previous 30 years, embarked on the prelude to the process of carrying out reform and an open policy, and on the building of socialism with specifically Chinese features. The reform and the open policy implemented during those 10 years dealt a blow to the stereotyped and dogmatic concepts that traditionally had taken shape, freed the productive forces from their shackles, and fostered all-around economic and social development. As a result of carrying out reforms, and of an open policy during these last 10 years, the gross national product has more than doubled; the face of China has been changing, and still is changing, with every day that passes. Since the reform is a completely new, long-term, and difficult matter, during the implementation of which there are no ready-made options that can be followed, we also encountered certain difficulties and problems along the road of our development. The most acute question that our economy is now facing is inflation, caused by the excessively rapid development of the economy and the overly broad scale of construction. Our country's chief task nowadays is that of improving the economic climate and making adjustments to the economic order. By acting in this way, we are seeking to create more favorable conditions for the deepening of reform and the further conduct of an open policy. We shall decisively and unswervingly advance further along the road of reform and the open policy.

The present world is undergoing enormous and deep changes. Reform already has become the spirit of the times. Many socialist countries are carrying out reforms in accordance with their specific conditions. We are happy to see that restructuring in the USSR has already entered the stage of the practical implementation of the resolutions and decisions elaborated. We sincerely wish you success in this field.

Esteemed Comrade Minister! This is the first time that you have stepped upon Chinese soil. We will devote a large proportion of our time to our work and talks. At the same time, you will also have an opportunity to familiarize yourself with our country. You will get to know directly both China's past and present, and feel what the Chinese people are thinking about and what occupies them at present. We hope and we are confident that in the future you will have fresh opportunities to deepen your knowledge of our people and our country.

In conclusion, Qian Qichen wished E.A. Shevardnadze a pleasant stay in China and complete success for his visit and proposed a toast to the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and the USSR and to the health of those present.

In his reply speech, E.A. Shevardnadze said: We have chosen a good time to come to see you—the eve of the lunar new year, a festival that in China symbolizes the advent of spring. But maybe it is a choice made by time itself—the time of renewal—renewal of the nature of socialism, which has so commandingly seized our countries and peoples with the processes of restructuring and modernization; renewal of the nature, essence and content of Soviet-Chinese relations, the level of which should be commensurate with the position and role our countries have in the world.

In this context, I recall Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words addressed to you, comrade minister, when you visited us in December 1988. "Your arrival in Moscow," said the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "is more than simply a visit, since it opens up, to a certain extent, a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations."

Our trip to Beijing is also more than just a return visit. One wants to believe that it, too, will serve to further develop the Soviet-Chinese dialogue to the benefit and joy of our peoples. It is not just in our countries, but in the entire great region of Asia and throughout the world that it is being keenly listened to, with a desire to hear harmony, a factor for peace, development, and stability.

It is heard distinctly by everyone.

Harmony is distinct in our joint preparations for a historic Soviet-Chinese summit meeting which will take place during the first half of this year.

Harmony is to be found in the proximity of the conceptual views of the highest leaders of our countries on the present tendencies of world development, defined by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev as the necessity to construct a basically new system of international relations, and by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the requirement to set up a new international political order, based on a transition from confrontation to dialogue, from tension to detente, from hegemonism, discrimination, and inequality to the peaceful coexistence of all states.

Our positions on problems concerning disarmament, elimination of means of mass destruction, and shielding peaceful space from militarization are identical or close. We are seeking and finding common approaches to the problem of settling regional conflicts. And here, too, our cooperation makes a real contribution to building security in the region and the whole world.

Continuing on the same subject, I wish to recall our conversations in Moscow, in which we paid great attention to the restructuring and modernization of our countries. Now the time has come to restructure and modernize our relations. For this we have a good foundation—values which are eternal, and not subject to devaluation: namely the feelings of friendship, mutual goodwill and spiritual mutual attraction of our peoples, which are rooted in history, the kinship of principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and the processes of renewal which are developing side by side. All this is actively manifested today and promises us a great deal.

Business ties are gaining strength, public contacts are expanding, direct cooperation between individual regions, towns, enterprises, and establishments in the two countries is being gradually established.

Our political dialogue is gathering momentum, too. The foreign ministers of the USSR and the PRC are already meeting each other for the fifth time in less than a year. We have not had such intensive contact for a long time. You and I sense and see how areas of mutual understanding are broadening and moving toward an improvement in the atmosphere of trust and cooperation.

Nevertheless, there is still much that has not been done. Quite a few difficulties still remain on this path. The exceedingly rich potential of Soviet-Chinese relations has not been fully manifested. That is why a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is so essential; it should lead—and we are confident it will lead—to a complete normalization of relations between the USSR and China.

We are carrying out the preparations for this, convinced that a full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will not only serve the good of our peoples, but that it will have a beneficial effect on the worldwide political climate.

In pondering how we want to see our relations, we are thinking more and more about their adequacy for the present-day world.

In this respect, we feel common human values and interests rank alongside the universal principles of inter-state intercourse. It is precisely these universal principles that should be made the foundation in building the new-type relations between the USSR and the PRC through our joint efforts.

The Soviet Union sees one such prop to be the transformation of the Soviet-Chinese border into a zone of peace, friendship, and good-neighbourly cooperation.

In this respect we have in mind:

—a lessening of military confrontation between the USSR and the PRC, on a balanced basis, to a mutually acceptable minimum level;

—a full settlement of border problems;

—the development of broad interaction between the bordering regions of the Soviet Union and China.

I hope that the Chinese comrades will agree that all these goals are fully attainable.

Wishing to overcome once and for all the areas of past alienation, we want to finally establish in our relations an atmosphere of trust and mutual observance of such principles as mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for each other's interests, views, experience, and practice.

These principles can be realized in practice only if there is an equal orientation of efforts. We need to lean powerfully on the oars of cooperation in the spheres of economics, trade, science and technology, cultural exchange, intellectual and resource exchange, the creation of joint firms and enterprises, and the training of cadres.

A little over 2 months have elapsed since our Moscow meeting, and much that was conceived there is already acquiring the form of concrete proposals and documents. Good groundwork is being done towards the summit meeting.

This pleases us. No less gratifying is the fact that during the past 2 months very positive shifts have been occurring in the region and throughout the world.

The Paris conference of the signatory states of the 1925 Geneva protocol, which strengthened our hopes for concluding a convention this year on complete elimination and banning of chemical weapons, has successfully ended.

The final document of the Vienna meeting of the participant states in the Helsinki process has been adopted; its significance, in our view, far exceeds the frontiers of the European continent, which is what we spoke about at the closing of the meeting.

The start of parallel talks on confidence-building measures and the reduction of conventional arms in Europe is drawing nearer.

All this makes more topical the problem of creating a system of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region, too, not following the European model, as some think, but following the example and trend of worldwide developments.

For the new international relations—the new international political order—presupposes a global unity of regional processes for strengthening stability.

This is served objectively by the development of Sino-Indian dialogue to a new and qualitatively higher level. We are pleased at this with all our hearts.

The USSR also welcomes the direct Sino-Vietnamese contacts, which promote the search for a constructive solution to the Cambodian problem. Here, we once again stress our firm conviction that both the socialist republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea intend to conduct matters toward this end.

We are convicned that the Soviet-Chinese dialogue will have a favorable influence on a political settlement in Cambodia.

In this context, the developing dialogue between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN states is of great importance.

One should strengthen in every way the trend toward dialogue and foster it in every way.

This includes dialogues between countries which, for various reasons, have found it difficult to enter into dialogues.

Let us recall a certain feature of the recent past: The more contradictions and disagreements arose in relations between countries, the greater chances there were for those who love political gambles to play various "cards." However, a feature of the present stage is that by entering into dialogues and arranging to cooperate, states reduce the chances for such master poker players to accrue doubtful political capital from such gambles.

Today another logic is triumphant—the broader international cooperation becomes, and the more states that enter into it, the more both their national interests and the world as a whole gain.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

While flying here from Moscow, many of us recalled the tune and words of a once-popular song. This is natural, for the landmarks of the memory do not grow old. But time, equipping us with new landmarks, dictates new motifs. Today USSR-PRC relations can be built only on the basis of modern realities, radically different from those of several decades ago.

It is with this thought that we look to the future. May cooperation and mutual understanding, trust, and good-neighborliness come to reign in that future. May they serve the well-being of our countries, peace, and security on the planet.

In conclusion E.A. Shevardnadze proposed a toast to the traditional friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, and wished hearty good health to the leaders of People's China and to all those present.

E.A. Shevardnadze took a familiarization trip to the Great Wall of China today. He was accompanied on his trip by Tian Zengpei, PRC vice minister of foreign affairs.

Also today, E.A. Shevardnadze had a meeting with the collective of the Embassy and other Soviet institutions in Beijing. He briefed them on the current stage of restructuring in the USSR and touched on topical problems of the Soviet state's foreign policy activity. The minister gave particular attention to the state of relations between the USSR and PRC and their prospects.

E.A. Shevardnadze stressed the importance of the tasks facing the staff of Soviet institutions in China. He called on all Soviet people working in the PRC to develop and strengthen the feelings of friendship and respect linking the people of the two neighboring socialist states.

Shevardnadze Chats at Great Wall

LD0302000189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; reporter V. Kulikov video report from Beijing—recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade Shevardnadze's official visit to the People's Republic of China is continuing.

[V. Kulikov] Talks between Comrade Shevardnadze and Comrade Qian Qichen, PRC minister of foreign affairs, began in Beijing on 2 February. [passage omitted] [video shows Shevardnadze, Qian and respective delegations in talks]

In between official events Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze made a familiarization trip to the Great Wall of China. Construction of this edifice began back in the 7th century BC. In those troubled times the Great Wall of China was meant to protect the country against raids by nomadic tribes. Today the Great Wall is a historic monument, a monument to the people's hard-working character, and testimony to the high level of technology of the ancient builders. Soviet cosmonauts who were in China recently said that this edifice was clearly visible from space. At the same time, the Great Wall—like all the walls in the world, probably—has divided people rather than brought them together. It was probably for this reason that correspondents asked Comrade Shevardnadze this question:

[Unidentified voice from crowd, in Russian] Does your stay here mean that there are no more dividing walls between China and the Soviet Union?

[Shevardnadze] I would say that there are no such walls now. We are builidng new relations, on new principles, on new foundations.

[Voice] (?Close ones)?

[Shevardnadze] Y es, (?close) ones.

[Second unidentified voice] And what about that wall? What about that wall there?

[Shevardnadze] Let some symbolic walls like that one remain for future generations.

[Third unidentified voice] As symbols. [video shows procession of cars along road; Shevardnadze and entourage on wall; Shevardnadze answering questions from crowd next to a building]

Shevardnadze's Agenda Detailed

LD0302060989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] The attention of the mass media is focused on Beijing, where talks are taking place between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen, the foreign ministers of the USSR and China. (Albert Papayan), our correspondent in China, is at the microphone.

[(Papayan)] The 1st day of talks between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has ended. The main issue is connected with the upcoming summit, which, in the opinion of both sides, will mark one of the most major events in the history of the development of bilateral relations.

Today, 3 February, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, along with those accompanying me [as heard], will place wreaths at the monument of the popular hero in Beijing's Tien an Men central square. Then the talks between the two countries' ministers' will continue.

This evening there will be a meeting between Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Li Peng, Premier of the PRC State Council. Then Comrade Shevardnadze, the leader of the USSR foreign policy department, departs for Shanghai where tomorrow, 4 February, he will meet PRC leader Deng Xiaoping. The interest in that meeting is certainly immense. It is expected that, upon his return to Beijing on 4 February, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze will declare at a news conference the exact date for the forthcoming meeting of the USSR and PRC leaders in the first half of this year.

Shevardnadze Places Wreath

LD0302071789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0649 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing, 3 February (TASS)—This morning E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, USSR foreign minister, who is on an official visit to the PRC, laid a wreath to the monument to popular heroes on Beijing's central Tien an Men Square. The red ribbon on the wreath was inscribed in Russian and in Chinese: "Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and happiness of the Chinese people!"

Immediately after the wreath-laying ceremony, the USSR foreign minister set off for the building of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives, where he continued talks with the PRC foreign minister.

Yang Invites Gorbachev to Beijing

LD0302102289 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] The chairman [title as heard] of the People's Republic of China Yang Shangkun has invited the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to come to Beijing on an official visit. According to the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, the invitation to the Soviet leader was conveyed today to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen during their talks in Beijing. The main objective was to prepare a top-level meeting of the leaders of the two countries, the first in the past 30 years. A concrete date of the visit, as has been reported, will be agreed on and announced on Saturday. The summit is to mark the complete normalization in the Soviet-Chinese relations.

The two foreign ministers also discussed relaxation of tension near their common border. An agreement has been reached in principle on setting up a group of diplomatic and military experts. It would take up such issues as reducing armed forces and armaments, including confidence-building measures in the military field. Much attention was given to the Kampuchean problem and how the two countries could help eliminate that regional conflict. The Soviet foreign minister is to be received by the premier of the State Council Li Peng.

Shevardnadze Meets With Li Peng

LD0302102989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1003 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing, 3 Feb (TASS)—A meeting was held this afternoon between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is here on an official visit, and Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and PRC State Council premier. In the discussion the sides exchanged views on further developing Soviet-Chinese relations and also on a number of international problems of mutual interest.

Qian Qichen, member of the CPC Central Committee and PRC minister of foreign affairs, and O.A. Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC, participated in the meeting and discussion.

Li Peng Denies Measures Signify Economic 'U-Turn'

PM0302102989 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[TASS "Foreign News" report: "Li Peng Speech"]

[Text] Beijing, 2 Feb—Over the next 2 years China must concentrate efforts on improving management conditions and establishing order in the economy, and also on deepening the reform. At the same time, a planned, socialist, commodity economy should gradually be formed. This was said by PRC State Council Premier Li Peng when he addressed cadre workers of the PRC State Committee for the Transformation of the Economic Management System.

Noting the achievements in improving conditions and establishing order in the economic sphere, the Chinese leader pointed out that the measures adopted in this sphere do not signify a U-turn and do not indicate that the reform is a mistake or that people should not have faith in it.

The reform, Li Peng continued, is a complex socioeconomic process. Its innovative nature necessitates a substantial generalization of the experience of the transformations that are under way.

Under he conditions of a socialist commodity economy, he noted in his speech, various forms of ownership should be permitted, with ownership by the whole people having the paramount role—and also various forms of distribution, with the socialist principle of distribution according to labor dominant.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet Soldiers 'Presumably' Leave Kabul 4 Feb

LD0302141689 Hamburg DPA in German 1321 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow (DPA) - The last Soviet soldiers presumably will leave the Afghan capital Kabul tomorrow. This was said in Moscow today by sources close to the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Thus, the USSR will have withdrawn its troops from Kabul more than a week before the date agreed to in the Geneva Afghanistan agreement. The withdrawing units will return via the Salang pass and arrive home a few days later, it was said.

Afghanistan Declines 'Right' To Keep USSR Troops

LD0302142689 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 3 TASS—The president of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah spoke on the local television network Thursday. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan, he said in an address to his compatriots, have done everything to promote a scrupulous implementation of the Geneva accords on a political settlement around Afghanistan. Today we see that the limited contingent of Soviet troops is being pulled out of the country strictly in keeping with the fixed schedule.

But the efforts of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to achieve a peaceful political settlement did not boil down merely to the Soviet pullout, the president continued. Every available opportunity was used to show our goodwill, our desire to stop the fratricidal war. The Soviet Union's first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov has visited Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Italy, where he had talks with representatives of the opposition. The Afghan leadership, in turn, addressed a message to Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, inviting him to visit Kabul and Islamabad shortly, in order to help the cause of achieving a political settlement of the situation around this country.

However, the Pakistani side, far from observing the Geneva accords, is obstructing their implementation in every possible way. There are still rebel training camps in the territory of Pakistan, as well as arms and ammunition depots, belonging to the opposition. Caravans with arms continue to move into Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. The headquarters of different opposition organisations have not stopped their subversive activities there. What is more, detachments of the regular Pakistani Army and of the armed tribal militia, which is on Islamabad's payroll, are openly taking part in combat operations on the side of the opposition. This is borne out by the events that took place in recent months in Qandahar, Pakita and Nangarhar Provinces. Pakistani Army units are massed along the Afghan-Pakistan border.

Apart from armed sorties, Najibullah continued, rebel formations are lately endeavouring, with Pakistan's backing, to smother us economically by robbing and burning convoys bringing in foodstuffs and fuel, thereby dooming their compatriots to starvation. In these conditions the Republic of Afghanistan had every right to ask the Soviet Union to leave a part of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. However, eager to put an early end to the blood-letting by peaceful means, to restore peace and security, it did not do this. When the last Soviet soldier leaves the soil of Afghanistan, the opposition will not have even a formal pretext to continue the fratricidal slaughter.

The road to a genuine and early settlement of the situation around Afghanistan lies only through the formation of a broadly representative coalition government. We shall continue our efforts in this direction, shall act in the interests of our people, the president said.

The Afghan leader called on all the commanders of rebel armed formations to cease fire and start negotiations. However, he stressed in conclusion, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its political allies are strong enough to defend themselves and Afghanistan from acts of arbitrariness, to deal a crushing blow at the enemy.

Najibullah Holds News Conference 2 Feb

LD0202155889 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 2 TASS—In keeping with the Geneva accords, all Soviet troops, still present in the territory of Afghanistan, will be returned home, it was stated here today at a news conference for local and foreign pressmen by the Afghan President Najibullah. Sending off officers and men of the friendly Soviet Union, every patriotically-minded Afghan expresses these days his heartfelt gratitude for everything they have done, he continued.

The enemies of our people and opponents of peace in Afghanistan, the head of the Afghan State went on, have constantly repeated that the Soviet Union had occupied our country and that Soviet troops would remain here forever. When it became clear that the Soviet and Afghan governments' decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops was final, those who stood to gain politically and materially from this war went out of their way to thwart the Soviet pullout, eager as they were to preserve the main pretext for outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and for continuing the hostilities. It is perfectly clear now that our decision has torpedoed all the propaganda subterfuges and calculations of our enemies.

Najibullah pointed out that only the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan had observed the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords, had carried them out consistently. As to Pakistan, it not only failed to honour its own commitments, but has expanded the armed intervention and aggression against Afghanistan both quantitatively and qualitatively, and has trampled underfoot many provisions of the Geneva accords. During the period that has elapsed after the signing of the Geneva documents, extremist formations, armed with weapons received through Pakistan, have launched 557 attacks on military targets, towns and other populated localities, and have set off 403 explosive devices in crowded urban quarters. They have carried out more than 2,300 fire assaults on different targets, launching or firing more than 200 thousand missiles, mines and shells. All this took a toll of more than seven thousand lives. More than twelve thousand people were wounded, including many civilians. Furthermore, the Pakistani Army and irregular formations have joined more and more actively in armed and subversive actions perpetrated by opposition groups. We possess irrefutable proofs of such actions, carried out in the past few months in Qandahar, Paktia, Paktika and Nangarhar provinces. Unfortunately, the United States, though seeing all this, failed to fulfill its commitments as guarantor of the Geneva accords.

The president noted that attempts of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan to achieve national accord among the conflicting parties were seriously complicated by the intransigence of the Afghan extremist opposition groups, enjoying support from outside forces. We have informed world public opinion, the United Nations and our own people in great detail about all these facts.

Dwelling on the military and political situation in the country, the president expressed the conviction that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its political allies, the country's Armed Forces were able to defend the people and the country, to rebuff resolutely, if it comes to it, the attacks and subversive actions of the opposition's extremist elements. Nevertheless, he said, we again declare our firm resolution to continue the policy of national reconciliation. We are convinced that the prospects of peace in our country depend largely on a comprehensive political solution, based on the equal rights and interests of all forces, on the creation of a broad coalition. We urge the government of Pakistan to reconsider its policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan. We stand for goodneighbourly relations with all the bordering states.

Sending off the limited contingent of Soviet troops, Najibullah stressed, we are aware that Soviet-Afghan friendship will remain forever a determining factor in our efforts to ensure peace and security in Afghanistan. The president replied to numerous questions.

Further on News Conference

LD0202220489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference by Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, took place in Kabul today.

[A. Shkirando, identified by caption] These days, Najibullah says, every patriotically minded Afghan is saying farewell with gratitude to the officers and men of the Soviet Union, which is our friend. The enemies of our people and opponents of peace in Afghanistan have constantly launched a propaganda campaign to the effect that the Soviet Union has occupied Afghanistan and the Soviet Army will remain in our country forever. It has now become clear, however, that our decision on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops has totally refuted that propaganda.

As for the Geneva agreements, it is obvious to everybody that these accords have been observed honestly to this day both by our Republic of Afghanistan and by the Soviet Union, while the other side has insolently violated them. Since we support the full and honest fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, we also, naturally, support the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. We believe that any establishment of peace in Afghanistan depends on a comprehensive political settlement founded on a balance of interests, the equal rights of all interested forces, and the creation of a broad-based coalition.

Najibullah expressed certainty that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan will resolutely defend the interests of the Afghan people, in addition to the country's national independence and territorial integrity. If necessary, Najibullah continued, hundreds of thousands of PDPA members, their political allies, and all national patriotic forces are also ready to defend themselves and their people with weapons in hand, alongside the Armed Forces who are engaged in battle. And the people must know that although the Soviet troops are returning to their homeland, our friendship, which has deep roots in history, will remain forever, Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, said in conclusion. [video shows Najibullah addressing press from behind podium on stage]

Afghan Opposition, Diplomats' Departure Analyzed

PM0302103789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent G. Charodeyev report: "On the Situation in Afghanistan. From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The Afghan armed opposition's policy of stifling Afghanistan's major centers economically, destabilizing the situation in them by acts of terrorism, is causing discontent among the population—and so, on the threshold of the decisive battle for power, the rebel leaders are undertaking actions of a propaganda nature aimed at smoothing over the negative impression of their operations. V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, stated this at a briefing.

"Ahmad Shah Mas'ud," he continued, "whose detachments have been plundering food and fuel convoys on their way to Kabul throughout these past days, and who has built fortifications out of sacks of food, has declared that he never set himself the goal of leaving Kabul without food, but has confined himself to attacking ammunition trucks."

The armed opposition is continuing to stockpile weapons and ammunition both inside and around the country's most important strategic centers. According to a report from the local population, the security forces in Qandahar discovered ammunition hidden in empty soap boxes in one factory. Some 100,000 small-arms cartridges were hidden in this way. In one region of Nangarhar Province, officers of the people's militia (tsarandoy) captured a rebel dump containing approximately 700 mines of various kinds.

However, not all the Afghan Armed Forces' operations to lift blockades of roads and population centers are successful. Thus, in Baghlan Province tsarandoy and army detachments conducted a joint operation for the purpose of driving rebels from the road between old and new Baghlan. It is now known that the operation failed, and regular troops incurred losses in manpower and hardware.

Armed opposition detachments have in turn suffered big losses as a result of air and artillery strikes by government troops. The return of large numbers of dead and injured to opposition camps in Pakistan has caused a flareup of discontent among Afghan refugees, who have held protest demonstrations against the continuation of the war. The slogan "Death to the Leaders of Reaction!" has been seen in their hands. In this connection the leadership of the "alliance of seven" has issued instructions to all leaders of armed opposition detachments operating on Afghan territory not to send the bodies of the dead to Pakistan in the future but to bury them on the spot.

The tally of foreign advisers killed in Nangarhar Province is rising. According to data of competent organs, 10 bodies of Arabs killed in that province have been delivered to Peshawar Airport for forwarding to Saudi Arabia.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to draw journalists' attention to the ballyhoo increasingly being fueled over the departure from Kabul of the personnel from the embassies of a number of Western countries—the United States above all. The thesis of a threat to the safety of personnel in connection with the developing situation in the country is played up in every possible way to justify the evacuation decision. However, it is scarcely possible to find any elementary logic in the arguments on this score.

"Let us take," V.P. Perfilyev said, "an alternative option, one that is most realistic under present conditions: The present regime remains in power, having dealt an appropriate rebuff to the encroachments on it by extremists of every color and hue. Given this development of the situation, absolutely no threat to the personnel of Western embassies in Kabul can be perceived. The Afghan authorities have scrupulously and consistently done and are doing everything to ensure the normal functioning of foreign missions in Kabul. There are no grounds for concern."

What, nonetheless, can account for the hasty decisions to evacuate people from the diplomatic missions of certain Western countries in Kabul? There is evidently one reason—to help to create in the Afghan capital an atmosphere of mistrust in the lawful government, and to provoke extremists into new acts of violence and terror.

Soldiers' Withdrawal from Shindand Portrayed

PM0202122789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1-2

["Afghan reportage" by Lieutenant Colonels V. Kovalev, I. Yesyutin, and A. Oliynik: "Hour of Return"]

[Text] Shindand is a district center in Herat Province, in West Afghanistan. It is an important trade and transport center on the highway leading from the south of the country to the Koshk. The name of this city is well known to those following events in Afghanistan. And particularly to the mothers, fathers, and wives of those who are fulfilling their international duty on Afghan soil. It is also to familiar to us from press, radio, and television reports. It was from Shindand in the fall of 1986 that the first of the six Soviet regiments withdrawn at the time left for the motherland. It was through Shindand that the path of our convoys from Qandahar and Lashkar Gah passed in the summer of last year....

At the time one of us was a member of the withdrawing Soviet convoy; he saw the unconcealed feeling of sadness with which we were seen off by those who were remaining for the time being at the outposts and posts. And now the hour of their return is coming.

We are on a dominant height. Its steep slopes are scorched by fierce, hot, dry winds and in many places are marked by bullets and shrapnel. There is a continental climate here with great daily fluctuations in the air temperature—by day you are blinded by the bright sun, by night water freezes in the soldiers' water bottles. This is a harsh region of the Afghan land where the motorized riflemen's outpost is situated.

Unprepossessing premises made from adobe and shell and cartridge crates are encircled by stone walls. There are barracks, a canteen, a rest room and...a Russian bath house with a steam room here. The men seem to have grown into this stony land. The outpost covers the mountain ravine through which a road passes and a pipeline has been laid. That is the main thing which a small group of motorized riflemen have reliably guarded and protected all these long years.

Having completed their service, the boys drafted from their students' benches and those on whose families the calamity of the Armenian earthquake descended have flown back to the Union. Nonetheless the backbone of the outpost is still made up of servicemen whose service has exceeded the set 2 years.

At the main post—the observation post—is Guards Private Davrun Khamidov. A bullet-proof waistcoat covering his warm jacket, a helmet over his soldier's cap with ear flaps, a submachine gun in the firing position. Binoculars are slung on his chest. Khamidov does not feel like talking right now. This is his second outpost. "I have 26 months in Afghanistan behind me," the soldier said. "I have been awarded a medal. Of course I want to go home as soon as possible—to Uzbekistan. But how can I leave the junior draftees? So we will return to the motherland together...."

The mortarmen's fire position. The crew is headed by Guards Junior Sergeant Shirali Payenov. Guards Privates Valter Petrosyan and Sadyk Abdiyev are under his command.

"The mortarmen work punctiliously," was how political workers Guards Senior Lieutenant O. Yefremov briefly assessed the "Vasilka" crew.

Right now the guard is changing at this as at the majority of other Soviet outposts. Our soldiers are being replaced by Afghan sarbozy (soldiers). And in general it must be said that signs that our servicemen were leaving Afghan soil could be seen in the entire appearance of the Shindand garrison.

In the compounds of the units and subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops we often met with groups of officers in Afghan military uniform. The transfer of military posts, material stores, equipment, and various hardware has been completed. Suffice it to say that in this region about 100 residential buildings, four bath and laundry combines with all their equipment, 25 buildings adapted as medical treatment institutions, a bakery with a 3-month stock of flour, 167 depots and storehouses, and other establishments worth a total of over R70 million are being handed over free of charge to the Afghan side. Major General N. Pishchev, first deputy commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, who has overall charge of all measures in this region, has many concerns right now.

"We are trying to hand over everything in the best state to our Afghan friends," Nikolay Pavlovich says. "We hope that, when they have taken over from us, they will be able to live under normal conditions and embark immediately on fulfilling the tasks of defending the province. We assumed in advance the concerns involved in training Afghan specialists who will service the electricity grids, water pipelines, and other communcations. This work has now been completed. Dozens of Afghan specialists are ready to set about operating all our complex facilities...."

The Soviet military medical personnel have also trained a reliable replacement. Alongside Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Khalikov, chief of the garrison hospital, it has often been possible to see in recent months Senior Captain San Ula [name as transliterated], a military surgeon. Our surgeons, anesthetists, and therapists have passed on their knowledge and rich professional experience to the Afghan doctors.... Colonel Abdul Shukur [name as transliterated] had a tour of duty in the admission department attached to Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel V. Gromenko, and doctor Captain Zalivar [name as transliterated] has been attached to Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel V. Savelyev. Other officers and doctors—A. Pak, V. Rogachevskiy, N. Pavlovskiy, and S. Sokolov—have also had their pupils.... Some 33 Afghan medical specialists have been trained in the hospital.

Soviet military medical personnel are leaving behind good memories among the inhabitants of the nearby hamlets. Medical Service Major V. Lavrik, chief of the hospital medical service, gave us the following figures: Since February 1980 our doctors have given out patient assistance to over 10,000 Afghan citizens, and 6,780 wounded and sick Afghans have been treated in the Shindand stationary military hospital while 4,900 have been operated on and 218 Afghan women have been helped while giving birth.

"And you can also write," San Ula added with a smile, "that two Rayas and a Nikolay have appeared in our hamlets...."

It emerged that the Afghan children are indebted for their Russian names to the hospital's senior medical sister, Raisa Ksenofontovna Fedorova, and military surgeon Medical Service Major Nikolay Ivanovich Gusevskiy. They have frequently delivered the babies of Afghan women....

Like the doctors, our political workers from the Shindand garrison agitation detachment are also well known in the surrounding hamlets. It has traveled thousands of kilometers. It has frequently come under fire, although it was performing an exclusively peaceful mission—bringing the peasants the truth about the policy of national conciliation pursued by the country's leadership, and supplying free aid in the form of clothing, footwear, food, and necessities.

"In 1988 alone our detachment had 235 agitation trips to its credit," we were told by political workers Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Kudryavtsev. "Over 40,000 local inhabitants attended meetings, movie sessions, and talks."

Friendly ties took shape between the Soviet servicemen and the Afghan soldiers. Frequent meetings and weeks and days of Soviet-Afghan friendship have always been held here, but they have become particularly frequent now. Here are lines from just one political report with which we were acquainted at the headquarters.

"... At 2201 hours the Sarandoy (people's militia) headed by Colonel Mubi Nurzay [name as transliterated] entered the battalion. Our soldiers and officers headed by Guards Major G. Dzugayev told the Afghan friends about the revolutionary transformations taking place in the Soviet Union and about the great efforts which the Soviet Government is making to achieve peace in Afghanistan...."

Many inhabitants of Herat Province want peace and calm now. But the situation on the Western salient still remains complex. Although Turan Ismail's [name as transliterated] formations are not conducting combat operations and are observing neutrality, acts of sabotage on the road and pipeline are not ceasing. Hamlets and outposts are being shelled. Unfortunately, there are casualties. A Soviet air ambulance was damaged and set on fire at Qandahar airfield.

We saw a scouts subunit leaving on a nighttime mission. They had to ensure the delivery of freight to the Qandahar region. The same bullet-proof waistcoats over their jackets, the same helmets. Heavy kit bags with ammunition, weapons.... The most experienced, the very best, were leaving. Let's name just a few of them. Guards Senior Sergeant Aleksandr Pokreshchuk, holder of the Order of the Red Banner; Guards Senior Sergeant Roman Zhuravchak, awarded the "For Valor" medal; Guards Privates Valeriy Martynchuk, Igor Kuleshov, and Timofey Kolomeytsev.... They were led on the mission by officers Aleksandr Lovorenko, Igor Karpov, and Sergey Li. Just before flying out Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Gromov was told that his child had been born.

"Is it a boy or a girl?" the happy father pressed for details.

"We couldn't tell, the audibility was bad," the communications officer explained guiltily.

The scouts went out into the night. In the morning we learned they had fulfilled their combat mission and there had been no losses.

In Shindand we talked with many of our servicemen, with those who were leaving for home and those who were waiting impatiently for their turn. We remember a meeting which we must tell you about, in the fifth motorized rifle company, the best in the X guards motorized rifle regiment. We know quiet a lot about it already. Each of the company fighters has a dozen or more tours of combat duty behind him. Almost all have been decorated or have been recommended for orders and medals. We thought: These are the people to tell us about the harsh daily life of the Afghan war. No, the opposite happened. The boys inundated us with questions: How is restructuring proceeding at home? When will will the recently instituted badge for internationalist soldiers, together with the certificate of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, be presented? How are the "Afghans" being treated now?

Questions to which it was difficult to find answers. But we could not cringe or go against our conscience. We spoke honestly of the difficulties in our restructuring, said that the "Afghans" are still not treated everywhere with the proper understanding. We told them that as yet the limited contingent of Soviet troops' political section knows nothing about the presentation of the honorary and memorial awards, although they have already asked the relevant cadres organs on several occasions. Perhaps our publication will lend impetus to these events.

...We flew out of the garrison by night. The airfield was plunged into impenetrable darkness—aircraft take off and land under a total blackout. Only when we were taking off could we see the city with its lights. And on the remote borders of the outposts tracer bullets crisscrossed the nighttime sky.

Bhutto, Pakistanis Welcome Improved Relations

PM0202161789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent O. Kitsenko article: "Pakistan: Burden of the Past"]

[Excerpt] Islamabad, Delhi—[passage omitted] As for Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's position on foreign policy questions, one cannot fail to notice certain changes in comparison with the recent past. The main one is her proclaimed desire to establish friendly relations with neighboring countries. Even a statement on the immutability of the Afghan policy was accompanied by an expression of fidelity to the Geneva accords.

People in Pakistan and India, tired of decades of confrontation, received with relief the new government's desire to end tension in relations between the two states. They welcomed the results of the recent talks between Prime Minister Gandhi and Prime Minister Bhutto which, in the opinion of many, could open up a new chapter in relations between the two neighbors.

Special mention should be made of Bhutto's expressed desire for improved relations with the USSR. This intention by the head of the new Pakistani Government reflects to a large extent the mood of the country's people. The Ziaul Haq regime's policy could not suppress the Pakistanis' feelings of respect for and desire for friendship with our country. Prime Minister Bhutto's statement on the readiness to strengthen and expand trade relations and other ties with the USSR met with a keen response among Pakistan's business circles.

"We welcome this statement by the Prime Minister. There are great opportunities to expand our trade and economic ties with the Soviet Union and we are an example of that," Yaqub Tabani, director of the Tabani group, which sells us ready-to-wear clothing and buys Soviet industrial goods, told me. "The Soviet Union is a very reliable partner and we have never had any problems with it. When we began, our commodity exchange amounted to $3,000, now it has reached $50 million. I can say with certainty that businessmen in Pakistan are highly interested in the development of trade with the USSR. And through trade our relations in other spheres will improve, too." [passage omitted]

Iranian-U.S. Diplomatic Relations Discussed
NC2701130989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The establishment of diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States is the topic being discussed in Iran's political and social circles. Tehran's ETTELA'AT newspaper proposes that this issue be assessed from a practical point of view. This newspaper believes that the confrontation with the United States [words indistinct]. The newspaper proposes that the situation should be amended and that Washington's call for political negotiations on the fate of the U.S. hostages in Lebanon should be accepted.

It is said that these hostages were captured by pro-Iranian Islamic groups. ETTELA'AT writes that war has its (?own) regulations and peace has its own norms and regulations. However, the issue is not so simple. The fact is that the tension in Iranian-U.S. relations were not created during the time of war, but long before that. Immediately after the victory of the anti-oppression revolution in February 1979, Washington and some of its NATO allies placed Iran under economic and political siege. In April 1980, the U.S. militarists directly attacked Iranian territory.

The U.S. policy which, during the years of the war, was aimed at fanning the flames of the Iran-Iraq conflict, intensified the anti-U.S. feelings of the Iranians. The efforts by certain circles in Iran for behind-the-scenes talks with the United States met with an explosion of rage on the part of Iran's social circles. All these pertain to the incidents in the past.

But now that Iran is carrying out its post-war reconstruction, the U.S. economic siege continues. At a time when Iran very badly needs credit facilities for reconstruction, the United States is refraining from returning billions of dollars that belong to Iran and that were once taken out of Iran by the shah's family and deposited in American banks. To date Washington has even declined to carry out its promise of paying compensation to the families of the passengers of the Iranian plane that was downed in Hormuz Strait airspace by a rocket fired from the U.S. destroyer "Vincennes." And, finally, the Iranians justly oppose the presence of an immense U.S. naval and military force in the Persian Gulf. What is keeping these forces in the area, at a time when peace talks are going on between Iran and Iraq? It is very obvious that the United States does not intend to give up its policy of force in this area—a policy which has made Iran its target many times.

These are all the things that have been inherited from the past and the present and which are standing in the way of bilateral political talks. Many Iranians believe that under such conditions, talks with the United States will be of an unequal nature from the very start. Moreover, those figures in Iran who intend to place Iran within the sphere of U.S. policy still remain on the scene. They have had more than a little (?influence) on the order by Iran's high-ranking officials to civil servants to remain indifferent and not respond to public opinion on the political results of contacts between Tehran and the United States and other Western countries. This directive is justified by the claim that it is necessary to refrain from uncovering state secrets, in the interests of Islam.

However, the concern felt by Iranian social circles about such so-called explanations is only intensified. These circles have not forgotten the behind-the-scenes talks between Washington and Tehran that led to the Irangate scandal. After all, the representatives and spokesman for the former U.S. Administration openly announced that the [word indistinct] of these talks was to return Iran to the sphere of U.S. influence and to turn Iran into a fief of the monopolies and of the Pentagon.

Many Iranians worry that the outcome of the behind-the-scenes Iranian-U.S. talks on the issue of the hostages could be a retreat from principles by Iran before Washington. They want the utmost openness to be displayed in matters pertaining to Iranian-U.S. relations.

Changes Expected in Iran's Policy on Lebanon
NC2601135089 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature; Aleksandr Batev's remarks recorded in Russian fading into Persian translation]

[Text] Mr 'Ali Akbar Velayati went to Syria where he held talks with Syrian Foreign Minister Mr Faruq al-Shar' and leaders of the Lebanese Amal and Hizballah groups, and while there he tried to bring the bloody clashes between these two hostile groups to an end. We will discuss this with Radio Moscow analyst Aleksandr Batev.

Our first question is: In your opinion, has Velayati been successful in his mission?

In answer to this question, Aleksandr Batev said: Whether Velayati's mission was successful or not will be clarified later on. If a cease-fire is established between Amal and Hizballah, Velayati will be satisfied and the Lebanese people will also have a sign of relief. The clashes between the Shi'ite groups further exacerbate the situation in the country, which is already tense without these clashes, and diminish the possibilities of its being able to resist pressures by Israel. The clashes also have a negative impact on the efforts being carried out to reach a political solution to the Near East problem. If a cease-fire is established, the question will be: How long will this cease-fire last? During the past year, Amal and Hizballah have been involved in three armed conflicts. If the existing differences and discord between these two groups continue, no one can guarantee that these (?conflicts) will not reignite.

We asked: Which conflicts do you mean?

Aleksandr Batev said: First of all, I would like to recall that Hizballah maintains very close relations with the Iranian leadership. There are many common points between the views of the Hizballah leaders and the views of the ideologues of the Islamic revolution of Iran. For example, Hizballah supports the creation of an Islamic country in Lebanon similar to the Iranian regime, and it very decisively portrays its views in deeds.

It should also be clearly stated that Hizballah's views do not have much (?appeal) among the Lebanese. A great part of the Shi'ites even resist the compulsory imposition of these views. As a result, clashes break out between Amal and Hizballah. Amal rejects a theocratic rule and accuses Hizballah of terrorist acts, and Hizballah's other slogans and objectives are also strongly criticized. One cannot say that only Amal condemns the mode of Hizballah's political activities, for Hizballah is regarded cautiously both in Lebanon and abroad. This is being approached in Tehran today with great sensitivity, because they are trying to (?improve) the [word indistinct] of Iran and of the Islamic revolution, and to establish stronger economic relations with foreign countries.

We asked: Do your remarks not mean that one can expect specific changes in Tehran's policy on Lebanon?

Aleksandr Batev replied: Yes, one can assume this. I would like to cite the remarks made by author and Islamologist (Shaul Bakhash), which were published in THE NEW YORK TIMES. He said that currently in Iran an Islam which convinces by setting examples and patterns is (?replacing) an Islam which convinces by sword. This change of approach in realizing the ideals of the Islamic revolution should logically lead to a change of approach in implementing foreign policy. As stated by THE TEHRAN TIMES recently, it appears that Tehran has made mistakes in its foreign policies as regards Lebanon. When confessions are made that mistakes have been made, then this means that they may try to correct these mistakes.

Israel's 'Peace Plan' for Palestine Examined

LD0102210489 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Albert Balebanov:

The contents of Israel's widely publicised "peace plan" on the Palestinian problem have become known. The plan was expected with an understandable interest, in view of the topicality of the Palestinian theme in the light of the popular uprising in the occupied Arab lands in the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip which is in its 14th month and in the light of the new realistic stand of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on a peace settlement in the region. But the familiarisation with the "Shamir Plan" (which is how the western press describes this document) published in the Parisian LE MONDE leaves one disappointed.

"The peace plan" does not envisage the main condition guaranteeing peace and stability in the Israeli-Palestinian relations—the creation of an independent Palestinian state. "Neither talks nor force will help Palestinians achieve statehood. There will not be a Palestinian state ever," Israeli Prime Minister Shamir said boastfully. Rejecting any possibility of the Palestinians exercising their inalienable right to the creation of their own sovereign state he thus rejects any settlement of the Palestinian problem which is central to the Middle East crisis.

The PLO showed that it is a serious and authoritative partner in peaceful negotiations by clearly stating its readiness to enter a dialogue with Israel in the framework of the international conference on the basis of the U.N. Security Council's resolutions 242 and 338, its wish to coexist with Israel in conditions of peace and security, by condemning terrorism in all its manifestations. By his "peace plan" Shamir rejects this peaceful gesture of the PLO, loses a unique chance that opened as a result of the Palestinian leadership's new, realistic approach to reaching a comprehensive and equitable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been clouding the international situation over many years.

Depriving Palestinians of the freedom of choice, Shamir proposes to reduce their status to a limited "liberal autonomy" in the framework of "Great Israel". This is essentially tantamount to the status of an occupied territory for the zone with the only difference that Israeli troops might some time be withdrawn from the area but only after "democratic elections of lawful Palestinian representatives" are held there under Tel Aviv's auspices and negotiations are conducted with the Israeli military administration. Tel Aviv would not dare assume such an uncompromising stand if it were for the U.S. backing. [sentence as received] Washington had demonstrated it yesterday when it blocked the adoption by the U.N. Security Council of a statement condemning the escalation of reprisals and violence in occupied Palestinian lands.

The Israeli premier wants to hear nothing about convocation of an international conference on the Middle East for which the overwhelming majority of the world community declares. Shamir's unconstructive stand dooms the region to continued existence as a region of violence and bloodshed. Do they in Tel Aviv really hope that Shamir's "peace plan" will be accepted by the Palestinians? The plan does not even assign any role to the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Arab people of Palestine which earned broad recognition and respect of the world community.

Israel's 'Rude' Human Rights Violations Examined

LD0202232589 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 2 TASS—Israel's rude violations of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories are in the focus of attention at the 45th session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, underway in Geneva. Unequivocally denouncing the criminal policy of the Israeli military and civilian authorities, speakers pointed out today that only a cardinal solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people within the framework of an international conference on a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East can put an end to the suffering and sacrifices of the Palestinian people.

Feliks Stanevskiy, who heads the Soviet delegation, states his country's readiness to help convene such a conference with the participation of all parties concerned and contribute to its successful work. He voiced a warning to those who still stake on perpetuating the results of aggression and avoid a serious and constructive search for ways to unblock the intolerable situation.

Delegates from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Tunisia and other countries pointed out, that the historic decisions of the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council, Yasir 'Arafat's speech at the 43rd General Assembly session, and its resolutions on the Palestinian issue, create necessary prerequisites for the solution of the Palestinian problem. They also called on the U.N Human Rights Commission to make a significant contribution to the process of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

Libyan General Consulate Opens in Tashkent

LD3001102489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0959 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Tashkent, 30 Jan (TASS)—A Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah General Consulate opened here today.

Translated Publications Exchange With Libya Noted

LD3101132489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Tripoli, 31 Jan (TASS)—Newspaper kiosks in the Libyan capital and other cities of this country are selling Soviet periodicals published in Arabic—AL-MADAR (Orbit) magazine and ANBA MOSCOW (Moscow News) weekly. This follows the signing in Tripoli of an agreement between the Soviet "Mezahdunarodnaya Kniga" [International Book] Association, APN Agency, and the SPLAJ General Corporation for the Press, Distribution of Printed Publications, and Advertising. The agreement also provides for the sale in the USSR of the Libyan newspaper AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR and the magazine AL-JAMAHIRIYAH.

Health Cooperation Agreement With Algeria Signed

LD3001201589 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and Algeria have signed an agreement on cooperation in health services. The document was signed in Algiers by the Soviet health minister, Yevgeniy Chazov, who had come for an official visit, and by his Algerian counterpart, Messaoud Zitouni. It provides for expanding the exchange of experience in different areas of medical science and for sending highly qualified Soviet physicians to Algeria to work at hospitals and clinics.

East Europe

Urban on Polish Changes, Gorbachev Role

PM0202131989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Correspondent G. Charodeyev report from the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on briefing by Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban: "Poland: Real Breakthrough in Politics"]

[Text] Minister Jerzy Urban, Polish government press spokesman, has come to the Soviet Union especially to meet with journalists.

At a briefing, he described events taking place in his country:

"Three years ago the Western press dubbed W. Jaruzelski a 'Pinochet in dark glasses,' a man who was 'oppressing the Polish people and eliminating democracy in Poland.' Just 3 weeks ago journalists began saying that

Polish Prime Minister Rakowski, the enemy of 'Solidarity,' was defending a concept which makes it possible to pursue economic reforms while rejecting political changes in society. Yet quite recently the bourgeois press informed its readers that in a speech at a PZPR Central Committee session, Rakowski opened the way to the rebirth of 'Solidarity' and its entry to the stage of legal political life.

"Just a few weeks have passed since the well-known Polish director Andrzej Wajda, addressing the creative intelligentsia here in Moscow, stated, to my personal displeasure, that the Polish leadership is a group of Stalinists pursuing a policy contrary to the spirit of the times. I am not sure whether he would confirm that verdict today. A real political breakthrough has taken place in Poland. A new era has begun whose limits are unknown. We think it would be unwise to present a precise model of the system we want to achieve. However, this is not a change in Poland's political course. Our reforms are unquestionably linked with the restructuring in the Soviet Union, the new political climate in East-West relations, and the easing and reduction of the Western onslaught on Poland.

"The political changes are based on major economic changes. The main change is the introduction of the law on economic activity, which established complete freedom for the state, cooperative, and mixed sectors. A law has been passed offering very extensive opportunities for the operation of foreign capital, the sale of bonds, the future sale of shares, and the free exchange of foreign currency. Our plan is for competitive banks to open as well. The Rakowski government's main goal is to reject all the barriers and restrictions which have simply increased for decades.

"Ration cards have been abolished for all food products except meat in Poland. Soon even those will go. Various privileges have been abolished.

"There is now a new concept of the party's attitude toward religion. Religious beliefs are considered a party member's personal views. Views and actions in the spirit of political clericalism are considered contrary to party membership.

"However, all this looks far better as a concept than in the actual political situation. Public discontent is still strong, many people are fairly indifferent to the changing of political structures and focus their interests on their own material well-being...."

A correspondent from BUSINESS WEEK (United States) asked:

"Did the Soviet leadership play a direct role in the decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum?"

"No, our party made its own decisions independently without any contact with Moscow," J. Urban stressed. "But after the plenum it was decided to inform the Soviet leadership about the course of events. M.S. Gorbachev has played a very great personal role in the changes taking place in Poland. His recent visit, in particular, influenced the change of political line among a considerable section of the opposition."

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked:

"Are the state leaders who held power in the seventies taking part in Poland's political life today?"

Urban replied: "They have all retired and are taking no part in sociopolitical life. Some of them are engaged in various professional activities."

Polish Pluralism Decision Marks 'Turning Point'

PM0202123489 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Yu. Vasilkov under the rubric "Our Commentary": "Poland: Turning Point"]

[Text] January 1989 will go down in Poland's political annals as a turning point in the life of the country and party. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, after stormy and prolonged debates, adopted a document defining its position on political and trade union pluralism. The greatest comment was aroused by the decision to open the path for the creation of new trade unions, including "Solidarity."

Let us look at the facts from the recent past. The word "Solidarity" first appeared in the political lexicon after the events of August 1980, when alternative organizations began to be established as a counterweight to the bankrupt "official" trade unions. The party leadership supported this initiative, believing it would give a healthy boost to social development. But adventurist, extremist trends took the upper hand in the "Solidarity" leadership. Trade union organizations became increasingly involved in political intrigues. This exacerbated the crisis in society to such an extent that the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981 was a necessary measure to avert disaster. The trade unions' activity was stopped.

Before a year had passed, a law on trade unions was adopted, and new trade unions began to spring up at Poland's enterprises. Former "Solidarity" members joined them too. The organizational structure of the trade union movement was built from bottom to top. When the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ) was formed in 1984, it proclaimed as one of its main tasks the implementation of the principles of August 1980—the same principles on the basis of which the "Solidarity" trade union sprang up.

At the same time supporters of the "active opposition," personified by the Gdansk headquarters of the outlawed "Solidarity," did not intend to lay down their arms. They undertook numerous actions to destabilize the situation and set up illegal cells and groups at enterprises. Meanwhile the situation in Poland urgently required a pooling of efforts to overcome crisis phenomena in the economy.

In these conditions the country's leadership was the first to extend a hand by proclaiming the idea of national consensus. It was proposed that representatives of all political currents in Polish society hold a "roundtable" in order to jointly develop a general outline of the country's development.

The implementation of the "roundtable" idea proved difficult. It meant overcoming both the opposition's distrust and the dogmatism of those who adhere stubbornly to the methods instilled by the Polish version of Stalin's "Short Course." But as Comrade W. Jaruzelski said at a news conference after the plenum, "you cannot walk forward while facing backward." The PZPR set a course of radically renewing the model of Polish socialism so as to incorporate comprehensive democracy, humanist values, and concern for people's welfare.

The PZPR Central Committee came out in favor of the principle: The trade unions will be what working people want them to be. This principle is also confirmed in the document "Position of the OPZZ Council," adopted at the end of last week.

The OPZZ Council is not unequivocal in its assessment of the new situation. It expresses fears that a political struggle could begin at enterprises as a result of the implementation of the decision on trade union pluralism. At the same time the trade unions united in the OPZZ do not intend to oppose the party's actions on the question of political and trade union pluralism provided that they serve the working people and help to overcome the economic crisis in Poland. The OPZZ, the document says, advocates a "roundtable" meeting as soon as possible.

It has become known that as a result of talks between delegations headed by Polish Minister of Internal Affairs C. Kiszczak and "Solidarity" leader L. Walesa, agreement was reached to begin the "roundtable" talks on Monday, 6 February. C. Kiszczak briefed J. Dobraczynski, chairman of the All-Polish Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and A. Miedowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, on this. The Polish press reports that they declared their readiness to play an active part in the talks.

Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Holds Congress

PM0202150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov under the general heading: "Getting Down From the Rostrum: 12th Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Congress Ends in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw—"We are witnessing and experiencing an unprecedented development and new character in Polish-Soviet relations," said Professor H. Bednarski, chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Main Board, in his report to the 12th congress of Poland's largest society.

The congress, held in Warsaw 27-29 January, discussed the tasks stemming from the new philosophy of society's activity bound up with the socialist renewal and restructuring in Poland and the USSR.

The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society now has more than 3 million people of all ages in its ranks, united in 44,700 circles. Moreover, there are 14,900 collective members of the society at enterprises and organizations. The society's activists are doing much to ensure that Poles are better informed about the Soviet Union and the changes taking place in our country thanks to restructuring and are helping establish closer contacts among people.

The congress spoke of the need to eliminate formalism and window dressing, endow friendship with its natural human appearance, and "get down from the rostrum."

Our two countries' ties are multifaceted. They touch on politics, economics, culture, and tourism. Their fruitfulness was noted by M.S. Gorbachev in his greetings to the congress. He stressed the growing role of the exchange of experience and all-around cooperation between our countries.

The congress was imbued with a spirit of mutual respect, new approaches to solving problems, and rejection of formalism. The delegates advocated deepening cooperation within the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society.

W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, and M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, took part in the work of the congress. Delegates were addressed by Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Honecker Cites 'Hypocrisy' on Berlin Wall

PM0202132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by E. Honecker"]

[Text] Berlin, 25 Jan—The GDR public is preparing to commemorate on a wide scale the 500th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Muentzer, an outstanding figure and reformer in the history of the German people. A jubilee preparation committee has been set up in the Republic. A routine session of the committee has been addressed by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in which he dwelt on a number of questions of international life. He noted, in particular, that the GDR advocates peace and that mankind's struggle for that noble goal is bearing fruit. With the GDR's participation a start has been made on nuclear disarmament and the destruction of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles. As agreed at the Vienna meeting of states participating in the all-European process, talks will now begin on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. The contribution made by the GDR to the successful conclusion of that meeting cannot be diminished by those who made extremist attacks on the GDR at the Vienna meeting in an attempt to hide their own lack of responsibility toward their people and citizens.

For example, it is incomprehensible, the GDR leader said, that the United States deliberately ignores the electronic security devices set up on the U.S.-Mexican border yet complains about defensive installations on the GDR's border with West Berlin and the FRG, probably to mollify its allies.

The items on the theme "Vienna and the Wall" currently being disseminated by certain mass media in the FRG and West Berlin not only demonstrate short-sightedness but also show the hypocrisy in policymaking in Bonn and West Berlin, E. Honecker said. The gentlemen from the Springer press and those who assist them seem to have forgotten that the permanent task of the government of any state must be to protect its citizens against robbery. An example of such robbery is the exchange rate whereby West Germany demands M7 for DM1. These and other features may be generalized in these terms: Despite the "powerful speeches" by Messrs Genscher and Shultz, the wall will continue to exist as long as the conditions which led to its construction exist. It is needed if for no other reason than to protect our republic against robbers, not to mention those who would gladly upset stability and peace in Europe. Ensuring the security of its borders is the sovereign right of every state, including the GDR, E. Honecker pointed out.

Environmental Agreement Signed With GDR

PM0302111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 31 January V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received H. Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and GDR minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, who is in Moscow in connection with the signing of an intergovernmental agreement between the USSR and the GDR on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

There was an exchange of opinions in view of the realization of the ideas of this agreement. It was pointed out that it embraces a wide spectrum of scientific, technical, production, and economic tasks aimed at improving the ecological situation.

GDR Reader Regrets Halt to Soviet Magazine

PM0202124989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "We Can Form Our Own Judgments"]

[Text] I am a young Russian-language teacher from the GDR. I love the Russian language very much, and have visited your country several times, and follow all events in the USSR attentively. I was helped in this for more than 8 years by SPUTNIK magazine, which unfortunately is no longer available in our country—although, in my opinion, it was popular among the inhabitants of the GDR. This magazine completely sold out 2-3 hours after it appeared on newsstands.

But our newspapers suddenly began to carry unflattering reviews of it.... The first very short article only announced that SPUTNIK was being withdrawn from the periodicals list because it did not help strengthen German-Soviet friendship. Then I read in another article that the distortion of Soviet and CPSU history and of other countries' history was a SPUTNIK line. I did not always agree with the opinions of the authors of the various articles in SPUTNIK, but they always provided grounds for interesting debate.

I now subscribe to IZVESTIYA, which is interesting and talks animatedly and graphically about life in the USSR. It is easier for me because I have almost complete fluency in Russian. But what are my compatriots who have a poor knowledge of Russian to do? They pay increasing attention to the Western mass media, although these media often tell lies about the GDR and the USSR.

I hope that SPUTNIK will appear on our newsstands again sometime. We have a sufficiently good grasp of politics and history to judge for ourselves everything that is printed and to draw the correct conclusions from it.

[Signed] Katrin Kuntse, Magdeburg, GDR

Hungarian Foreign Policy Achievements Reviewed

PM0202133389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Hungary: Diplomatic Activeness Is Increasing"]

[Text] Budapest—Hungary's mass media announced Monday, 30 January that an official Hungarian Government delegation had arrived in Seoul to sign an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations between Hungary and South Korea. Thus, Hungary is the first socialist country to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

However, the terms "for the first time" and "first" have recently been used quite often about Hungarian foreign policy, even by Western publications that not so long ago talked constantly about socialist countries' conservative attitude in their foreign policy and their total dependence on Moscow.

In 1988 socialist Hungary's foreign policy, as Peter Varkonyi, the country's foreign minister, said recently at a meeting with foreign correspondents accredited in Budapest, had many significant events to its credit. The minister pointed out that visits by the country's top leadership, including Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, to the Soviet Union and other socialist coutries and also to the United States, Canada, Britain, France, and Spain helped greatly in easing the international situation and broadening East-West contacts in many spheres. Hungary signed a trade and economic agreement with the EEC in 1988.

According to the Hungarian foreign minister, the country's foreign policy was implemented under the positive influence of fruitful USSR-U.S. dialogue. P. Varkonyi expressed a high opinion of the Soviet peace initiatives and the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces, and he described this as an example for other countries. The minister noted at the meeting with journalists that the decisionmaking process within the Warsaw Pact was more democratic and dynamic last year. Hungary was able to make its own contribution to the preparations for and successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting on questions of humanitarian cooperation and to the preparations for the talks on reductions in conventional armed forces and arms in Europe due to begin in March.

Hungary's diplomatic activeness in 1988, as can be seen, razes to the ground claims regarding the bankruptcy of socialist countries' foreign policy in general and Hungarian foreign policy in particular.

Meeting Marks Anniversary of Romanian Treaty

PM0302132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Treaty Anniversary"]

[Text] The 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Romania has provided a firm basis for bilateral relations. This point was made at a public meeting in Moscow on 1 February marking the 41st anniversary of the signing of the document.

The speeches noted the wide range of contacts between the two countries and the expanding scale of their trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties. The determination of the USSR and Romania to continue consistently and comprehensively strengthening the friendship of the peoples was emphasized.

I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, noted that the document was an important event in the development of the two countries' relations and opened up prospects for fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation.

A delegation from the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Society headed by E. Margineanu, member of the society's leading committee bureau, took part in the meeting.

On the same day I. Bucur held a friendly meeting to mark the anniversary of the treaty. It was attended by R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

West Europe

Voronin Meets French Industry Minister

PM0302105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 31 January L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, received R. Fauroux, French minister of industry and land management. Questions of trade and economic relations between the two countries were discussed—in particular, the preparations for the session of the Soviet-French Mixed Standing Commission due to be held in Paris in February. Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talks.

French May Help Design New Nuclear Reactors

PM0202152089 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Feb 89 p 11

[Jean-Francois Augereau report: "French Could Participate in Design of Future Soviet Power Stations"]

[Text] Will French nuclear energy experts participate in the design of the next generation of Soviet water-cooled, water-moderated reactors [VVER]? All the indications are that they will, following the signing of a new cooperation agreement in the sphere of the peaceful application of nuclear energy in Moscow on Tuesday, 31 January.

Some people may think this is just another document signed by the two sides in the very general framework of the 1967 cooperation agreement signed by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Soviet State Committee for Nuclear Energy. But that is not true. This document differs from previous documents on at least two points and bears witness to the changes that have taken place in the nuclear energy sphere in the Soviet Union since the Chernobyl accident. First, it differs in the new subjects which it tackles: nuclear safety, the environment, and public information. Second, it differs because of the industrial and commercial nature given to it by the two signatories—Aleksandr Protsenko, chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, and Atomic Energy Commission Director Jean-Pierre Capron.

The first practical application of this vast project emerged during the recent meeting of the Franco-Soviet ad hoc commission, which groups together many industrialists and bodies and which decided on 18 January to start drawing up programs relating to nuclear reactor casings, operational simulators [simulateurs de conduite], component checking, and, of course, reactors of the future.

Safety First

The last point is by far the most important. It emerged during Mr Protsenko's low-profile visit to France last October. On that occasion he told us that he intended to draw on the technical expertise of several Western countries in the construction of nuclear power stations. "Our concern," he said, "is nuclear safety. This notion now comes before productivity."

How could this fail to be the case in a country scarred by the most serious nuclear accident of all time (Footnote 1) (Not counting the disaster which took place in Kyshtym in the Urals in 1957) and in which opinion is now divided on the nuclear energy program? Is it difficult to convince people when, like Mr Protsenko, you admit that the Soviet nuclear energy program has been slowed down (Footnote 2) (Twenty-three reactors are now frozen. Three have been closed down or are about to be closed down: the old 200-megawatt VVER in Novovoronezh and two 400-megawatt VVER in Oktemberyan. The other 20 are not working reactors but are either under construction [12] or planned [8]) and that the USSR has no alternative energy source to nuclear energy?

There is only one way: proving that the new generations of Soviet power stations will be safer, and possibly taking advice from Western experts in order to speed things up. Is this any reason for French, German, Swiss, and Swedish industrialists to cry victory? Certainly not, because it seems that the Soviets behave in the same way in this sphere as they do in the space sphere—allowing the industrialists to compete and choosing the best. Each must prove its worth. The German company Siemens must demonstrate its competence on accident scenarios and dangerous zirconium-water chemical reactions (Footnote 3) (Zirconium is used for the fuel cladding). This relates to improving the safety of the 1,000-megawatt VVER-88 reactors, the design of which will be completed this year with work on the first starting in 1993, and which will give preference to "safety over economic profitability."

The Swiss and Swedes, grouped within Asea-Brown-Boveri, will also have to prove themselves, possibly with Siemens, as regards the design and construction of two high-temperature reactors. The French companies Framatome, the French Electricity Company, and the Atomic Energy Commission have useful know-how in the design of particularly "safe and economic" reactors which they can contribute to the design of the Soviet VVER-92 reactors, which should be operational in the year 2000.

Agreement Signed with UK Advertising Company

LD0202153189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] London, 2 Feb. (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Peskov reports:

An agreement signed here between USSR Gosteleradio and the British "Saatchi and Saatchi" company envisages the provision of consultational services in the development of the concept of foreign economic television and radio advertising in the USSR, and the elaboration of principles for advertising Soviet export goods abroad.

The expansion of economic and trade contacts between the USSR and foreign countries and the development of joint ventures has aroused significant interest amongst Western businessmen in the advertising of their products and technologies in the Soviet Union. Our television viewers have already been able to acquaint themselves with some examples of television advertising from the United States, Great Britain, and other countries, which were shown on the channels of central television during telebridges with London and Washington, and also the broadcasts "What, Where, When?". However, the constantly increasing volume of requests for television advertising and the absence of sufficient experience in this matter required the Soviet side to study the experience of leading companies in this field.

"Saatchi and Saatchi" is one of the world's major advertising companies. It has representative offices in 58 countries and more than 10,000 clients, including such well-known companies as "British Airways," "Gillette," "Phillips," "ICI," "Phillip Morris," and others. "Saatchi and Saatchi" also handles political campaigns. For a number of years it has been the organizer of the election campaigns of the ruling Conservative Party of Great Britain.

The British specialists will help the recently established all-union association "Sovteleeksport" in the selection of advertising clients, the setting of prices, and making recommendations on the optimal means for advertising Soviet goods in the world market.

Political & Social

Election Campaign for People's Deputies Continues

Scientists' Demonstration Pictured

PM0302085589

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 February 1989 carries on page three a group of three photographs showing "scientists demonstrating outside the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium" over the candidate deputy nominations. The photographs show people carrying banners backing Academician Sakaharov and also Academicians Sagdeyev and Likhachev. Banners can be seen bearing the following slogans: "We are the Academy, too" and "We do not trust the Presidium."

More on Scientists' Rally

LD0302154189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] About 2,000 Moscow scientists gathered on Thursday in front of the national Academy of Sciences to voice their disagreement with the procedure and results of nominating academy candidates for election to the country's highest legislative body. (Yelena Vesyoleya) has these details:

A few days ago, the Central Election Commission, expected to pass judgement on cases like this, considered 40-odd applications questioning the lawfulness of the nomination procedure at the Academy of Sciences. A number of renowned scholars, famous for their active support of perestroyka, have been voted down by secret ballot and failed to find their names on the final list of candidates. Among them have been doctors Andrey Sakharov, Roald Sagdeyev, and Tatyana Zaslavskaya.

Lawyer (Georgiy Barabashev), who the election commission appointed to look into the circumstances, maintains the case is clearly an internal affair of the academy.

[Begin (Barabashev) recording in Russian fading to English translation] Although we've received very many letters whose authors are indignant at the voting down of active supporters of restructuring, I don't think these protests have anything to do with commission activities. After all, it was up to the academy to decide who should be nominated as candidates and who should not. As a citizen I may have a different point of view, but as a commission member I cannot trace any violation of the law in this particular case. [end recording]

The people rallying outside the academy building, however, seemed to think differently. They demanded that the decision of the academy's full-scale nomination meeting be cancelled and new elections held. Some radically minded participants even demanded an academy presidium reshuffle. There were calls for creating an independent union of scientists that would nominate its own candidates. Dr Vladimir Kudryavtsev, the academy vice president, and one of the nominees, maintains some of the demands voiced at the rally contained sensible ideas.

[Begin Kudryavtsev recording in Russian fading to English translation] I think it would be a good thing to do to set up a scientists union. Of course, many people at the rally were too emotional, but then the entire crowd was boiling. Speaking of those resignation demands I, for one, am ready to resign at any time since I'm a researcher, first and foremost, and my administrative duties are just an extra burden on me. I think many other scientists share this feeling of mine, but on the whole the rally revealed the number of problems that need resolving. Specifically, there's a lack of connection between various research centers and the academy leadership. This leads to a situation whereby the two parties cannot hear each other. [end recording]

The academy president, Mr Guriy Marchuk, refused to face the rally participants, but agreed to talk to their representatives. Dr Kudryavtsev is sure the academy presidium will have to draw certain conclusions.

[Begin Marchuk recording in Russian fading to English translation] I think the main lesson to be learned is that we should strengthen our ties with various research institutes. Until regular contacts are established, the institutes will have no trust in the academy leadership. Also, we have to further the process of democratization, specifically with regard to the election of institute directors and academy members. This'll rule out all disappointment and dissatisfaction. [end recording]

Dr Kudryavtsev said he personally had voted for Drs Andrey Sakharov and Roald Sagdeyev, whose failure to collect the needed number of votes could be explained by the presence at the full-scale academy meeting of people from other parts of the country who'd voted for their own candidates. One of the rally organizers, (Oleg Rugandsev) disagrees with this in principle.

[Begin (Rugandsev) recording in Russian fading to English translation] The meeting acted as a body of electors while it should not have. It's but an intermediate body. [end recording]

The rally organizers maintain that the Central Election Commission should discuss the results of the nomination procedure at the Acadgemy of Sciences once again. Importantly, however, all commission members agree that no violation [words indistinct]. Anyway, the message of protest has been accepted and will be scrutinized by the academy presidium next Tuesday.

Election Agents' Role Not 'Clear'

PM0302112189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent G. Ushakov report "specially for IZVESTIYA" under the "Political Accent" rubric: "What Is the Agent's Job"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—It has turned out in the course of the current election campaign that many candidates for deputy have agents who are not prepared to do their job.

No one benefited from the practice whereby voters, in the course of the election campaign, became acquainted with the future deputies only through posters on some streets or through brief biographical information read out at conferences and meetings with voters. The role of the candidates' agents was also reduced to this kind of reading. A future deputy's representative now bears greater responsibility. Because generally there is more than one contender for the seat. So there is a struggle ahead. Are the agents of candidates for USSR people's deputy ready for this?

"To be honest, it is not very clear yet what our job should be," critic Aleksandr Svobodin said. He is the agent for USSR People's Artist Oleg Yefremov, candidate for people's deputy from the country's Union of Theater Workers. "I have worked for 30 years with 'my' candidate, I have written a great deal about him, and I know him as a public figure. He is also well known to our public. Nonetheless, I believe that we are holding meetings in several regions of the country and in our union's local organizations." [passage omitted]

Most of the agents for the candidates for people's deputy to whom I talked have no clear idea of their tasks. There are probably reasons for this. For years we were accustomed to having everything done for us—others would select the candidates, discuss them, and make nominations. On election day we only had to drop in the voting paper.... Won't this result in nominated candidates' failing to get elected in March? Because not all the voters know them well. That is why it is hard to overestimate the role of the agents in the current election campaign. But what specifically should they be engaged in?

V. Smirnov, a member of the Central Electoral Commission, commented as follows:

"Every candidate for USSR people's deputy can have up to 10 agents. They should be responsible and enterprising people. They should not wait for instructions from above. If you have undertaken the difficult duty of a candidate's agent, then act. Don't expect someone to agitate in your place. There will be no instructions. Since there is no normal regularizing election campaign administration, as there was in the past, the soviets are only providing the campaign with juridical and material-financial backup.

The agents represent the candidates in all state and public organs, including the courts (if, of course, the need for this arises), and also at their own and at the central election commissions. They can agitate for the candidates, both on their own behalf and on behalf of the organization that the candidate represents, in all the mass media, grassroots organizations, and also at labor collectives.

Public organizations' union bodies are now planning meetings with candidates and agents at which the latter can popularize both their candidate's platform, his personality, and the organization's program.

Incidentally, many public organizations have their own press organs, and in this respect it is easier for them to carry out the electoral campaign. But territorial and national-territorial okrugs have other advantages that they can exploit. For instance, party, Komsomol, and soviet organs that are also involved in the candidates' campaign can play a big part there in election work. Agents in okrugs can speak at meetings in labor collectives or at their place of residence. Nor should it be forgotten that there is a form of electioneering that consists in personal meetings between either the candidate or his agent and the voters. Unfortunately, this has often been neglected. Yet it is better to acquaint yourself with people through direct contact with them rather than from a rostrum.

PRAVDA on Commission Session

PM0202164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A regular session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies was held in the House of Unions in Moscow on 31 January. The preliminary results of the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies in electoral okrugs were examined. More than 7,500 candidate people's deputies have been nominated—an average of five candidates per seat.

When examining the question of the makeup of candidate people's deputies from public organizations it was pointed out that, of the more than 2,000 candidates discussed at plenums of public organizations, 880 candidates have been registered for 750 deputies' seats. They include 198 women, 778 members and candidate members of the CPSU, 103 Komsomol members, 140 workers, 91 kolkhoz members, and 314 working people in science, health care, and the creative intelligentsia. The candidate deputies include representatives of all the union republics and many nationalities.

It was pointed out at the session that the nominated candidate deputies include representatives of all sections of Soviet society. They are united by the people's trust and their active stance on restructuring.

Reports on the progress of the election preparations in the Belorussian SSR and in Moscow and Kaluga Oblasts were delivered by Central Electoral Commission members I.A. Naumenko, A.N. Kashtanov, and D.N. Kuznetsov, who have familiarized themselves with the state of this work locally. The okrug electoral commissions' attention was drawn to the need to make careful preparations for the organization of election meetings and to create conditions for a free exchange of opinions on candidate deputies. Soviet ispolkoms and electoral commissions are instructed to complete the formation of ward commissions, ensure proper conditions for their work, and organize the study by commission members of the electoral legislation and the instructional materials sent out by the Central Electoral Commission.

A report was heard from A.V. Fedulova, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, on citizens' appeals received at the commission. There have been more than 2,000 such appeals. The majority of them contain questions connected with the application of the law on elections and suggestions on how to organize the election campaign better. The necessary measures are being taken following complaints about the decisions of soviet organs and electoral commissions.

The Central Electoral Commission's work plan for February 1989 and certain other questions connected with preparations for the upcoming elections were examined.

Participating in the Central Electoral Commission session were A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union.

Shcherbitskiy Named as Candidate

LD0202231989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Constituency pre-election assemblies are continuing in the country. At an extended session of the constituency electoral commission for elections of people's deputies for the Verkhnedneprovskiy territorial electoral constitutency number 424 in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast a decision has been adopted to register Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy as a candidate for USSR people's deputy from this constituency. Comrade Shcherbitskiy has given his agreement to stand in this electoral constituency.

'Stormy' Nomination of OGONEK Editor

PM0202133989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[A. Svistunov article: "TIME, LE MONDE and Other Newspapers Are Writing a Lot About Our Country Today. What Are They Saying?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When I asked Peter Dunaj, correspondent of Hungary's NEPSZABADSAG, what he had sent his editorial office the previous week he exclaimed: "Well, an item on the elections, of course! I sent two long items, both dedicated to the campaign on the nomination of USSR people's deputy candidates."

Peter described a discussion he had attended. V. Korotich, chief editor of OGONEK, was put forward.

"It took place at 10 Malomoskovskaya Ulitsa," Peter recalled. "It was hot there. There was much debate. Korotich himself was in the United States at the time. He was represented by Tsvetov, Yevtushenko, Karyakin, and your famous ophthalmologist Fedorov. Here is what I wrote about it: 'On Tuesday evening, just a few hours before the deadline for submitting nominations, Korotich was nominated at a meeting which was stormy but which, nonetheless, did not exceed the bounds of democracy. Korotich got a majority (786 people voted for him out of 995). There were two other candidates in addition to him. The first polled 145 votes, the second 4. (The former was the general director of the "Kvant" association, the latter—director of the Sklifosovskiy institute). [passage omitted].

Suslov Plaque Removed From Moscow University

LD0202170489 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—A plaque commemorating Mikhail Suslov, once a leading party figure, has been removed from the wall of Moscow State University.

Suslov was secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee since 1947, member of the Central Committee Presidium since 1955 and member of the Politburo from 1966 until his death in January 1982.

The government newspaper IZVESTIYA reported today that the commemoration resolution adopted upon Suslov's death by the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers has been changed and envisaged the removal of the plaque.

The paper quoted Professor VIktor Sadovnichy of Moscow State University as saying that university fellows were satisfied with the recent decision. "This is fair. Suslov made no real contribution to the development of this major educational establishment," he said.

Plaques commemorating Leonid Brezhnev (1906-1982) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911-1985), former party and state leaders, have already been removed from the walls of buildings in Moscow. The action was undertaken in keeping with corresponding resolutions, the paper said.

Efforts To Resettle Chernobyl Area Evacuees

PM0302154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview in Minsk with V. Yevtukh, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Commission To Eliminate the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES, by unnamed correspondent under the rubric "In Republic Governments": "Aftermath of Chernobyl Accident Being Eliminated in Belorussia"; date not given]

[Text] The government of the Belorussian SSR proposes to resettle the residents of 20 Gomel and Mogilev Oblast villages in new settlements with good amenities. This is one of the additional measures to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent met with V. Yevtukh, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Commission To Eliminate the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES.

"The tragic event in Chernobyl left a deep, unhealing wound on our republic," V. Yevtukh said. "Let us be frank: The people who have left their homes and been resettled in other places will long remember the aftermath of the accident. But there was no other way out. Approximately 25,000 people were evacuated from 107 population centers. I will point out that the evacuation was carried out in several stages, as the radiation situation changed.

"The people who moved to a new place were at once provided with temporary accommodation, and the able-bodied were given work. In Gomel Oblast, outside the zone of radioactive pollution, 170 new rural settlements with good amenities have been created for the evacuees. There are 9,770 apartments in homestead-type houses with outhouses. We are not building multistory buildings or wresting from the land people who have suffered a disaster.

"The zone of radioactive pollution with cesium-137 affected the territory of 11 rayons in Gomel Oblast and 6 rayons in Mogilev Oblast. It embraced 415 population centers with a population of 103,000. All dwellings and public, administrative, and economic buildings are being decontaminated. I will say that 432 population centers in this zone had already been decontaminated during 1986-1988. To prevent radioactive pollution from spreading, six special equipment treatment centers have been constructed, and washing [pomyvochnyy] areas have been built on farms and at enterprises. More than 150,000 different machines and mechanisms have been specially treated there."

[Correspondent] How have plowland, meadows, and pastures been protected from pollution?

[Yevtukh] An entire package of agricultural improvement and agrochemical measures has been implemented in the zone. In particular, deep plowing has been carried out over an area of 168,000 hectares, and 215,000 hectares of agricultural land have been limed. This and other work is to stop cesium-137 getting into agricultural products.

Special attention is devoted to the safety of the health of those living in the zone. The entire population subject to clinic observation (171,000 people) has been screened and registered. No disruptions in the people's state of health occasioned by radiation factors have come to light.

The "Registr" bank of medical and biological data has been created to generalize observations and draw up scientific recommendations. It includes information on all the zone's registered inhabitants. These are additional precautionary measures and have been occasioned by the need to constantly monitor the situation, which remains complex in this zone.

Given the existing degree of pollution, people can live here for a certain time with no danger to their health. I emphasize: for a certain time. But if the measures taken do not guarantee that a person will not receive more than 35 rems throughout his life—which is the internationally accepted the permissible limit—then in that case it is more correct to resettle people in a clean zone. This is the work we are now doing.

We are determining the population centers in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts from which people must be moved to settlements with good amenities located in a safe place. This year 1,200 apartments will be built for those being resettled in farmstead-type houses with outhouses.

It is, of course, no easy matter. And I must say that our misfortunes and requests were examined with exceptional concern and great attention at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session. After this, union organs decided to allocate to the republic an additional R243 million out of state centralized capital investments this year to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. The appropriate material resources and equipment are being assigned. Our chief task is to manage all this carefully so that people find it easier to endure the trial which has fallen to their lot following the Chernobyl accident.

Conference on Preparing for Ethnic Issues Plenum

PM0202140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference was held at the CPSU Central Committee 31 January to discuss the question of strengthening the socioeconomic foundations of the community of union republics in connection with preparations for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that will be dedicated to improving interethnic relations in the Soviet Union. The following took part in the work of the conference: secretaries of the union republic communist parties' central committees; the chairmen of commissions on questions of socioeconomic policy; deputy chairmen of councils of ministers; the chairmen of the union republics' gosplans; leading workers from central economic and other departments; leading members of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee.

Opening the conference, N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that, when preparing for the CPSU Central Committee plenum, party committees must thoroughly analyze practical policy on the ethnic issue. This analysis must reflect both achievements and urgent problems and show ways to solve these problems. In line with the 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations," preparations are under way in the center and in the republics for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on this issue. The USSR Council of Ministers is putting the finishing touches to the "Basic Principles of Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Self-Management and Self-Financing." The draft USSR Law "On Local Self-Management and the Local Economy" is being prepared. The progress made in work on the law has been discussed in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. There is going to be a broad discussion of these drafts.

The conference discussed the problems of speeding up the republics' socioeconomic development and increasing their contribution to the all-union economy, as well as ways to improve interrepublic ties and coordinate the interests of the union republics with general state interests on the basis of strengthening socialist ownership by all the people.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the questions of broadening the republics' rights and increasing their responsibility on the basis of self-management and self-financing. It was noted that the present economic mechanism has been built without proper account of regional factors. The predominance of administrative-edict methods of management, the excessive concentration of material and financial resources in the hands of central departments, and the narrowing of the economic base of republic and local soviets are disrupting territorial proportions, causing serious regional problems, fettering the republics' autonomy in the solution of socioeconomic tasks, and giving rise to the desire to make the center responsible for many issues that should be resolved at local level.

The conference participants spoke in favor of substantially broadening the republics' economic autonomy and transferring a number of functions, rights, and responsibilities to them. This should be helped by the transition to self-financing and the creation of a reliable material and financial base in the republics enabling them to carry out these functions. The republics' expenditure must be linked to their financial resources, the size of which must in turn depend on the efficiency and end results of the work of all enterprises in their territory.

All the speakers were earnest in their support of the thesis that a strong center must be combined with strong republics. The proposals made are designed to strengthen the USSR, all its national-state formations, and friendship between the peoples of our country.

The final speech was given by N.N. Slyunkov. He stressed that restructuring territorial management and the economic mechanism of collaboration between the central and republic bodies and broadening regions' economic autonmomy must ensure the further strengthening of the unified national economic complex and contribute to the fuller realization of the advantages of the territorial division of labor in the interests of our multiethnic state and all the Soviet peoples and republics. This is particularly important for our country, which is distinguished by its exceptional diversity of natural geographical and socioeconomic conditions. The transition to self-management and self-financing will require a serious restructuring of the budget system and organizational structures of management.

Particular attention was drawn to the problems of socioeconomic development, which can and must be solved at local level during preparations for the plenum—increasing the output of good-quality consumer goods and the provision of consumer services, improving finances and monetary circulation, and further developing the economic reform. The importance of galvanizing this work everywhere was stressed.

Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, took part in the conference's work.

Lithuanian Party Election Platform

PM0202125189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

["Appeal by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee to Communists, Working People, and All Voters in the Republic"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] Dear comrades! The elections of USSR people's deputies are approaching. The expression of the will of the majority of people will result in the formation of the Congress of People's Deputies and will launch a new system of state administration and the embodiment of the main idea of political reform: all power to the soviets.

Lithuania's people resolutely advocate restructuring in all spheres of life. The 19th all-union party conference decisions created new opportunities for the development of glasnost and democracy and the implementation of political reform. The best results are achieved where people correctly perceive the conference's spirit and the tasks set by life, where they get down to work boldly, creatively, and sincerely and get actively involved in social activity. We urge that such people—acting energetically with the long-term future in mind—be elected as USSR people's deputies.

The Lithuanian Communist Party and its Central Committee have approached the elections with a firm argument [ustanovka]—to aim for the republic's real sovereignty. In our view, **Lithuania's sovereignty primarily means an opportunity to autonomously resolve all questions of political, economic, social, and cultural life, to implement the Lithuanian people's right to self-determination, and to preserve the people's originality. Sovereignty also means our exclusive right to the land, forests, and natural and cultural assets, and finally our own constitution and laws, citizenship, state language, and freedom to maintain ties with other Soviet republics and foreign countries.** This is the main idea.

We link the consolidation of sovereignty with Lenin's perception of the Soviet federation: "Federation means a union of equals, a union demanding universal consent." Therefore we will firmly uphold our arguments [ustanovki] on this issue, as laid down in the proposals for the CPSU Central Committee plenum "On Improving Interethnic Relations in the USSR."

We regard as totally unacceptable both delays in implementing the vitally important plans for restructuring and attempts to force the pace of restructuring. This applies in full to the practical implementation of the idea of sovereignty which has aroused people in the republic. Here there is a need for determination and consistency, for boldness and political wisdom.

Lithuania's party organization and its leadership accept political responsibility for ensuring that restructuring and national and social renewal are steadily consolidated and produce sound results. We will strive to remedy as soon as possible the mistakes committed in the past, to rid ourselves of sundry social deformations and stereotypes in thinking and behavior, and to accelerate by specific actions the republic's economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development. It appears that Soviet Lithuania's people approve this stance, and we highly appreciate this. The only need is to rally more closely the efforts of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, labor collectives, public movements, and all of society's most conscientious forces for constructive dialogue and productive labor for the sake of democracy, progress, and the future.

Man and the State

We are fully determined to consistently follow the difficult path of creating a socialist rule-of-law state and will aim for radical change in the mutual relations between citizens and the state, because hitherto the state has taken on the role of omnipotent master or patron. The foundations for all this are already being laid—a draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution has been prepared. How would we like to see the republic's fundamental law? We would like to see it responding to the aspiration of Soviet Lithuania's people, guaranteeing its real sovereignty, and clearly delineating the activity of union and republic organs and departments. The new Constitution should not curb the enhanced national, political, cultural, and social awareness of the republic's inhabitants but, on the contrary, should offer scope for its dynamic development. We will democratize legislation. The people's will alone must provide the basis of all laws.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee believes that the republic's supreme organs of power and administration must embark on decisive actions to restructure the activity of courts, prosecutors' offices, internal affairs and security organs, and other legal institutions. This activity must be primarily aimed at protecting citizens' rights and freedoms and the state's interests. On the other hand, we will intensify the struggle against crime and all infringements of the law. We appeal to soviets of people's deputies and their organs and to public organizations and movements to create an atmosphere of implacability toward thieves and bribetakers, speculators and parasites, drunkards and hooligans. Instances of abuse of official position and bureaucratism in state and production institutions or public organizations, which insult man's dignity, must not be tolerated.

The exercise of rights and freedoms in a rule-of-law state is inseparable from the performance of citizens' duties. Unwillingness to obey laws for whatever reason is totally removed from the idea of a rule-of-law state and leads to chaos.

Man and the Party

Responsibility for the crisis situation which developed in the country and the lessons of truth have prompted the renewal of the methods of party activity and leadership and liberation from the vices of Stalinist bureaucratic centralism. Even though these life-giving processes may not be immediately perceptible in the republic's party committees and organizations and are now ambiguously evaluated, we have already taken the first steps toward renewal. Acute problems have been brought to light, programs for their solution have been or are being elaborated. Lines are being drawn between party, state, and economic administration functions, the role of elected party organs is being enhanced, and glasnost in their activity is being expanded. Quite a few party leaders and party aktiv members were replaced in a truly democratic fashion for the first time during the latest report and election campaign. The structure of party committees was restructured and the number of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee officials was reduced by one-third. Our aim will be to ensure that an atmosphere of attention for man, free debate, constructive criticism, party comradeship and frankness, and personal responsibility and principledness prevails in all party organizations.

Following the path of party sovereignty, we will aim for substantial changes in the Lithuanian Communist Party's status and seek to ensure that the CPSU also proceeds from the principles of Leninist federalism. It is only by genuine political wisdom, bold and considered decisions, and specific deeds that the party will assert its right to play the role of organizing and rallying people in reborn Lithuania.

It must be noted that the Lithuanian Communist Party was cruelly affected by the crimes of Stalin's regime. But even in the grimmest of years it never was a blind tool in the hands of Stalinists and stagnationists. It always had within its ranks Communists—both rank and file and leaders—who applied all their energy to implementing Lenin's perception of socialism and persistently struggled against its deformation. Today it is necessary to proceed from these traditions and to apply all energy to ensure a positive outcome from the process of Lithuania's de-Stalinization.

Restructuring persistently demands of every Communist a clear-cut stance, initiative, independence, and non-standard creative activity without waiting for instructions from above. Only thus will we be able to overcome the resistance of conservative forces which, taking cover behind sham principledness, are dragging us back into the past and yearn for a "strong hand." The other extreme is equally dangerous—the desire to solve chronic problems in one fell swoop and to rush ahead. There are people who try to use such slogans to camouflage adventurist and essentially antisocialist aspirations. Others, while sincerely believing in restructuring, support these maximalist slogans for acceleration. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee does not intend to tolerate trends and phenomena which are dangerous for the fate of restructuring.

Man and the Economy

The main objective of the party's economic policy is the Lithuanian SSR's economic sovereignty, as outlined in the concept of the republic's economic autonomy. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee will persistently strive for this; it has resolutely upheld it and will continue to uphold it at all levels. It is only by following this path that man will feel that he is the real master and will be interested in working and living better. This is why, starting in 1990, we ought to be guided by the following principles of self-management and cost recoupment:

—the siting and development of productive forces is the prerogative of the Lithuanian SSR's administrative organs. The construction and expansion of any enterprise is impermissible without their consent;

—the republic autonomously determines procedures for forming wages funds and other conditions governing wages and material incentives in all national economic sectors under its jurisdiction;

—the republic and its enterprises and organizations autonomously develop economic ties with foreign countries;

—all specialized banks are under the republic's jurisdiction and operate on commercial principles;

—the production of consumer goods in the republic is totally autonomous;

—there is autonomous regulation of the development of the social sphere: housing and municipal services construction, trade, consumer services for the population, local transport, education, health care, leisure, tourism, and sport;

—socioeconomic needs are funded by payments from the funds of economically accountable enterprises and organizations and autonomous republic and local budgets. Local soviets' activity is based on self-management.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee gives and will continue to give the utmost support to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the development of the socialist market and commodity-money relations, the economic integration of union republics, and the autonomy of enterprises and farms and will strive to block any violations of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) resulting from excessive administration and diktat. We will also encourage enterprises' desire to create voluntary associations, consortiums, and joint stock companies outside the jurisdiction of any sector ministry or department, the creation of joint enterprises with other republics and foreign countries, and the forms of lease and contract labor.

Man and the Land

Our aim is to solve the food problem as early as possible and to fully satisfy the demand for meat, milk, and vegetables—briefly speaking, to improve the supply of good quality foodstuffs for the republic's residents. We will aim to achieve this by expanding ecologically clean production processes, introducing scientific achievements and advanced technologies, improving economic and social relations in the countryside, and ensuring an autonomous agrarian policy.

A program for the further restructuring of agriculture is now being elaborated. Its basis and essence is to ensure that the crop farmer become the true master of the land.

While consolidating kolkhozes and other socialist agricultural enterprises, we will encourage the creation of various cooperatives and individual activity on their base. We will give the utmost support to production on personal subsidiary plots and collective truck gardening. We will improve the material and technical base of agriculture and technical supplies for it. We will improve and democratize the management of Lithuania's agro-industrial complex and will aim for equivalent economic and social relations between countryside and city, between agriculture and other national economic sectors.

At the same time, we will accelerate the countryside's social development and will improve amenities in settlements, production centers, and the road network on farms. We will expand trade and consumer services, aiming to ensure that rural residents can benefit from them without having to travel out of their settlement. We will improve the work of cultural, educational, and medical institutions and will satisfy the social needs of their workers. Our sacred duty is to do everything to ensure that elderly rural residents constantly feel sincere concern for their life and young people—for their future.

Man and the Social Environment

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee will make all efforts for the social reorientation of the republic's economic development.

We proclaim housing construction to be a nationwide task. All possible state resources will channeled into it: The quantity of construction materials sold will increase, with 25 percent more being sold to the population already this year. The implementation of the housing program is the concern of the Central Committee, the government, and each and every one of us. We will expand housing construction using the contractual and the own-resources methods and will expand the creation of housing construction cooperatives, including young people's cooperatives, helping them in every possible way. It is also important to strictly adhere to social justice and democratically allocate apartments to citizens.

The potential of republic and enterprise autonomy and cost recoupment will be pooled to produce goods in greater demand, and there will be better utilization of the existing favorable structure of the national economy (even now, goods made in Lithuania account for over 80 percent of market stocks). There will be wider development of equivalent commodity exchange with other republics, and the shipment of goods in short supply to other regions will be prevented.

In protecting the interests of Lithuania's residents, we will firmly demand that growing commodity resources be used to reduce shortages and to create conditions for competition between producers. While actively cooperating with cooperatives' associations, we will aim to ensure that their activity serves the fuller satisfaction of the population's needs. We will give the utmost support to public initiatives for the creation of consumer associations and will immediately adopt measures ensuring the regulation of price levels. We will encourage by all means growth in the production of goods for children and the elderly.

It is impossible to tolerate any longer the fact that the trade network is constantly short of a wide range of foodstuffs; and the population's criticism of their quality is justified. The use of chemical substances in agriculture must not harm man's health.

We will concentrate the efforts of the state, public organizations, and religious communities on concern, in a spirit of charity and humanism, for large families, orphans, invalids, and pensioners receiving minimum pensions. The protection of mothers and children must be not only a concern of the state but also a concern and a matter of honor for every collective. Any family bringing up three or more children should be classed as large.

We will aim to ensure that medical care can utilize modern scientific achievements and that its material and technical base is substantially strengthened. We will seek out opportunities to finance it in a satisfactory fashion, using funds from the state, enterprises, farms, and public organizations and the population's personal funds. Sports on a truly mass scale must promote a healthy way of life.

Man and Environmental Protection

With regard to ecological problems, our position is principled and clear: Man can and must change his relationship with the environment. Relying on public opinion, we will make a determined effort to implement the following basic guidelines to improve environmental protection and the use of natural resources in Lithuania:

—In the sphere of the use of natural resources, administrative methods of management must be replaced by scientific and economic methods. We will also endeavor to create and introduce ecologically safe technologies making it possible to save and protect natural resources, as well as a system of taxation for the use of natural resources; to establish fines for environmental pollution; and to form funds for improving environmental protection and restoring the natural environment;

—Laws on environmental protection and the use of natural resources must be radically changed in order to guarantee everyone living in the Lithuanian SSR a healthy environment and to protect this environment against factors damaging to it;

When broadening scientific and practical cooperation with the union republics and foreign countries in the sphere of environmental protection and the use of natural resources, we must create and implement a unified, comprehensive system to oversee the use of natural resources and the state of environmental protection, drawing particular attention in this respect to the protection of man's health and the interaction between environmental protection and the cultural legacy. This aim must be served by a system of national parks in the republic, where concern will be shown to preserve and restore ethnographic and natural values.

Man and Spiritual Revival

The republic's party organization is ready to encourage and support the political and national revival of Lithuania, develop democracy and glasnost, shape a new public awareness, and radically restructure ideological work. A noble man, standing confidently on his native soil and drawing strength from it, a man receptive to world culture, with an open mind, and with a respectful attitude to representatives of other peoples—this is the kind of citizen we would like to see in a republic that is being revived.

The past year has clearly shown that only in close cooperation can we restore many undeservedly forgotten national values. Several historical and cultural monuments have been restored, state symbols have been restored, and the Lithuanian language has been given state language status—this is only a short section of the path to the spiritual revival of the Lithuanian people.

Consequently, we are always with those who are really concerned for the success of shaping national self-awareness and self-expression and concerned with the questions of improving national relations and spiritual culture. Taking upon itself the responsibility for mistakes made in the past, the Lithuanian Communist Party will concern itself with assisting in compensating the moral and material damage caused to people who suffered from the policies of Stalinism. We will endeavor to ensure that historical and cultural monuments are restored to the Lithuanian people in the future and that new ones are built—dedicated to most important historical events and to immortalizing the memory of the great people of Lithuania and honored figures of the republic.

We will also endeavor to objectively assess the cultural legacy of past generations and restore the historical truth in full. This primarily concerns a new political assessment of many events in the period 1918-1953. The historical truth and the tragic pages in Lithuanian history must serve to revive and unite society. On the other hand, it is wrong to assess Lithuania's past exclusively in its national aspect, overlooking the social and class aspects, just as it is wrong to paint the development and events of recent decades in unmitigated black, thereby nullifying the life, aspirations, and results of creative work of several generations.

The Lithuanian Communist Party will endeavor to ensure that, relying on national traditions and humanist ideals, the most favorable possible conditions are created for developing the Lithuanian national culture. Together we will support the efforts of Lithuanians living in other Soviet republics to more fully satisfy their spiritual needs in their native tongue. We will actively encourage and create the conditions for broadening ties between the republic's creative intelligentsia and scientists and foreign countries, as well as with scientists, representatives of art and culture, and public figures of Lithuanian descent living in these countries.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government support the concept of a national school system—which is in the republic's interests—where a high level of spirituality, humanity, and respect for esthetic disciplines must prevail.

We will endeavor to enhance the prestige of teachers and take cardinal measures to improve their material and social conditions. We must make VUZ's more democratic and support public efforts to revive the Vitautas Velikiy University in Kaunas.

The revival has stirred the future of Lithuania—its young people. We will support youthful enthusiasm which serves to better the country. Our society has many problems, but young people possibly have more problems than others. The Lithuanian SSR Law on Youth must serve as an effective instrument in the solution of these problems and in the implementation of state youth policies.

People's natural concern for the future of the Lithuanian language is close to Lithuanian Communists and understood by them. Consequently we will make a determined effort to deepen the social functions of the Lithuanian language, as its state status requires, and support the efforts of the Lithuanian Language Society to enrich it as much as possible. Far more favorable conditions will be created for Russians, Poles, Jews, and other national groups for the development of language and culture, the institution of kindergartens and schools, and press publications.

All of us—Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Belorussians, Tatars, Karaims, and people of other nationalities—are citizens of Soviet Lithuania. Lithuania is our home and so we will respect and beautify it. We urge everyone to strive for human friendship between peoples—rather than an imaginary friendship based on slogans. We must be tolerant of one another and show mutual respect for way of life, customs, language, and cultural values.

Our press, radio, and television are all changing. We will do everything possible to ensure that journalists play an interested part and are able to work creatively to revive socialist Lithuania and continue to broaden glasnost and democracy, reflect the complex process of restructuring from every angle, openly examine the problems concerning our society, combat bureaucracy, cultivate tolerance and high standards of discussion, and strengthen the consolidation of all ethic groups and different social groups.

We are in favor of relations between church and state continuing to develop, so that freedom of conscience for all citizens is realized in practice and is not just words. We will support cooperation between believers and non-believers in the sphere of the preservation of peace, ecology, and morality and, in particular, in sobriety, the strengthening of the family unit, and charity.

We will continue to take a positive attitude toward the diversity of social and national-cultural movements and their equal rights, realistically assessing their aims, the results of their activity, and the social base of each of them. The Lithuanian Communist Party is ready to actively cooperate with the broad social movement—"Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for restructuring—and with other movements supporting socialist restructuring. We are establishing points of contact with them in the solution of complex issues. We will endeavor to continue working like this in the future for the good of each and every one of us, for the good of Lithuania.

For many years we have yearned for freedom of speech and diversity of opinion. But we are not always capable today of using this freedom sensibly and often offend man's honor and dignity. Let us not repeat our mistakes, not force everyone to think in the same way, but let us learn to understand each other and seek aims that unite us. After all, we are unanimous in our recognition that a Lithuania without sovereignty is a Lithuania without a future.

Dear comrades! Esteemed citizens of the republic!

Lithuania is us, all of its people. What we are, our motherland is too. Uniting the creative forces of all peoples living here and basing this unity on the principles of national equality, friendship, and socialist humanism—this is the need of the present. Our sacred wish to live a better life and see our children happy and smiling will not be achieved by talking but by work. We are taught this by the lives and actions of the founders of our people's heroic past and national rebirth, giants of spirit, as well as by the valor of our Great Patriotic War veterans and the selfless labor of different generations in the name of creating a socialist Lithuania.

Not a single purposeful, good action must be forgotten.

Today we are working to ensure the following:

—The new Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR must legally consolidate real political, economic, and cultural independence for the republic which fulfills the aspirations of the people of Soviet Lithuania;

—The Lithuanian language must unconditionally hold a worthy place in the life of its people and be comprehensively developed and preserved;

—The principles of protecting the environment and the vital functioning of healthy people in their practical activity must be placed above the interests of production and technology;

—A national system of education which satisfies our common needs and the interests of the national culture and economy must be formed and the network of academic and scientific institutions reorganized;

—Mutual understanding and respect must prevail over confrontation in the relationship between church and state which is being built afresh;

—The moral and material loss incurred by Lithuanian people exiled from their homeland must be given practical compensation;

—A diversity of opinion, democracy, and glasnost, founded on common human values, must prevail in our society.

At the same time, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee does not want the consolidation of social forces at any cost, but on the basis of socialist values.

This year's elections and, in particular, the forthcoming elections of USSR people's deputies will have decisive significance for the future of our land and will answer the question of whether we can firmly and consistently follow the path of progress and real socialism, which leads to light, truth, and prosperity. Particularly dangerous today is the adventurism of organizations like the League for the Freedom of Lithuania and others of its ilk, as well as the extremism of some people from other movements, because this ultimately impedes the progress of restructuring and deprives the present generation of the real prospect of greeting Lithuania's sovereignty and future generations of taking pleasure and pride in this sovereignty.

We urge everyone living in the republic to consolidate forces on the basis of the election platform adopted by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee—a platform of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. The positive processes taking place in Lithuania and the national revival must not be exploited in order to destabilize our society. The implementation of some demagogic, adventurist appeals would mean once again pushing our people into the quagmire of mutual discord and sorrow, which is something of which we have already had our fill and desire no more.

We urge you in the course of the election campaign to remain democratic, not denigrate citizens' honor and human dignity, and never sink to blackmail, personal insult, or intimidation. Excited feelings and the moods of

a day are no counsellor in an hour of trial. We suggest that you be guided by common sense, reason, a real understanding of your people's future, and a grasp of the path to real sovereignty.

We urge citizens of our republic to support the election platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party with real production, creative, and social activity and by taking responsible decisions in the forthcoming elections of USSR people's deputies and to elect deputies who will make a real, effective contribution to the revolutionary renewal of Soviet Lithuania and the country as a whole.

Estonia Closes Borders on Short Supply Goods

LD3001140889 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 30 Jan 89

[From "Radio Magazine" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is (Thomas Nordegren) in Riga, in the Baltic republics, who can tell us that the opposition between Estonia and Moscow is being stepped up. The latest step on the Estonian side is to require special passports for those who want to purchase goods in short supply, and that is a measure that will affect Russians and other East Europeans.

[(Nordegren)] When Tallinn housewives this morning went out to buy butter, sausage or meat, they had to take their passports with them. This applies even if you want to buy underwear, children's clothes or color television sets. The Estonian Government has closed the borders as regards all goods in short supply. One has to carry one's passport or other identification to prove that one lives in the locality to be able to shop. So, from today, it will be impossible for citizens of other Soviet republics, and also East European vistors, to buy attractive goods. We have to look after our own house; of certain goods in short supply, more than half have been bought up by Russians and Poles; more than half of all new television sets and refrigerators from Estonia, for example, have been sold on the black market in Poland; we want a free market system, but as long as we have an artificial Soviet pricing system we will have to see to it that we can keep the most attractive goods here in Estonia—says an official of the planning authorities.

Today's measure by the Estonian authorities is intensifying the economic battle with Moscow by yet another step. As long ago as 10 January the Estonians placed a ban on sending by post goods that are in short supply elsewhere in the Soviet Union. This led to dramatic scenes at the post offices, where Russian workers were refused permission to send home their usual packages to relaltives in other republics. One can see the new border restictions as yet another move in the chess game of interpreting the Soviet Constitution. Who owns the land, the natural resources and the production—the republics or Moscow? According to the Constitution, the Soviet Union consists of independent republics, which in principle may even leave the Union, but other legal regulations give the so-called All-Union, Moscow-controlled ministries and enterprises extensive powers.

On 5 February there will be a meeting of leading economists from the Baltic republics to refine the details for the programs for economic independence. In March a concrete program for the new economic policy is expected to be made public. Then Moscow will have to respond. As for today's measures, it has chosen not to make any comment.

Helsinki Daily Interviews New Estonian Premier

PM0102124289 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Jan 89 p 5

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAN report: "New Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome: Finnish Consulate in Tallinn a Possibility at Present"]

[Text] New Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome considers that opening a Finnish consulate in Tallinn is a possibility at present. According to Toome, there is also the possibility of Estonian representation in Helsinki in the near future. The timetable depends on the "goodwill, practical cooperation, and naturally also the general thrust of developments in relations between Finland and the Soviet Union," Toome said in an interview with the periodical, MAAILMA JA ME.

The prime minister also expressed his satisfaction that Finnish companies are founding joint enterprises in Estonia. He considers that a republic's right to draw up its own budget is important, bearing in mind the Soviet republic's economic independence. With a separate currency, it is also a possibility in order to protect the home market.

Toome considers that the party's task is to stabilize society's various power factors and currents. Communists active within the People's Front or the Green movement ought to represent the party, he said.

There are no grounds for expecting rapid economic change or a rapid improvement in living standards in Estonia, Toome said. But he believes that the people are prepared to wait, if the decisionmakers pursue sensible day-to-day policies. "If the people tire of waiting and lose their faith in the future, then the most secure guarantee of perestroyka is lost."

"Perestroyka should be strengthened, society democratized, and a state based on law created," Toome said.

The goal must be higher living standards, a people-friendly environment, a consumer-oriented economy, and a respect for work, the prime minister pointed out.

Toome does not consider it likely that Estonian nationalism will degenerate into chauvinism.

Estonians Act To Restore Olympic Representation

PM0102145389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Lawyer T. Kyrda: "Conference Decision"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In the three Baltic republics—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—the public has recalled that several decades ago there were active National Olympic Committees here which were recognized by the IOC, and republic teams took part in the Olympics. The Estonian Olympic Committee was set up in 1923, although back in 1920 Estonia's sportsmen were represented by an independent team at the Antwerp Olympics. [passage omitted]

In 1951 the USSR created a National Olympic Committee [NOC] which was recognized that year by the IOC as the Soviet Union's representative in the Olympic movement. In so doing they either did not notice or did not want to notice an important fact: that at that time many members of the Estonian Olympic Committee were still alive and that no legal act had been passed on its abolition. According to the International Olympic Charter an NOC can only be disbanded by itself. Clearly, Stalin's regime did not even bother to force the members of the Estonian Olympic Committee to take a decision on "voluntary self-disbandment." There are many questions which only the IOC can answer. For example, the question of where the IOC's recognition of the existence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Olympic committees "disappeared" to in 1951? If it was annulled—when, how, and by what act?

Unfortunately, the IOC did not discuss these problems before the public at large. The USSR Olympic Committee is silent, too. You cannot help concluding that this silence was due to the legal impropriety of the 1951 decision. Perhaps it was thought then that the union republics would develop with the status of oblasts and no one would ever remember the existence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Olympic Committees. Of course, no one in the early fifties, not even the esteemed IOC, would have thought that 35 years later restructuring would begin and that its main feature would be democratization and the expansion of the national republics' rights.

On 14 January all these questions were discussed at an Olympic conference in the "Estoniya" theater. There were 214 participating delegates and all the federations of the Olympic sports, sports societies, and sports organizations connected with the sports movement (journalist, medical, scientific, and other organizations) were represented.

All the delegates were united by the shared confidence that the existence of an Estonian Olympic Committee will benefit not only the Estonian SSR sports movement but also all Soviet sport, that this will enable us to broaden opportunities for our sportsmen and will be an incentive for young people to participate in sport.

Looking at the conference from the legal viewpoint, two of the concepts presented there can be highlighted. First, the Stalinist repressions destroyed the Estonian Olympic Committee, but Estonia's sportsmen did not lose the right to set up a new Olympic Committee, the legal successor to the previous Estonian Olympic Committee. And second, the Estonian Olympic Committee did not disappear without trace, even though Stalin's regime stopped its work and suppressed its members.

The legal dispute may go on indefinitely, because both the IOC and the USSR NOC are keeping silent about the 1951 decision. A decision on the essence of the dispute was taken by the conference, which, based on the will of Estonia's sportsmen, declared: The Estonian Olympic Committee has not disappeared even though Stalin's regime is to blame for stopping its activity. A decision was taken to continue the activity of the Estonian Olympic Committee created in 1923 and recognized by the IOC. This decision was approved by all the participants in the conference. In accordance with the rules the conference elected two committee members, who have the right to elect a further 13 members. Arnold Gren, Estonian SSR foreign minister, and Professor Atko Viru of Tallinn State University were named as the two authorized members. A provisional committee of over 100 people was created to support the Estonian Olympic Committee.

The conference participants realized that their decision might displease the sports bureaucracy and, obviously, conservatives outside the Soviet Union. They were also aware of the problems in store for the Estonian Olympic Committee and the republic's sportsmen on their path toward their chosen goal. The conference participants expressed the hope that it will soon be understood everywhere that the Estonian Olympic Committee's activity is in the interests not only of the republic's sportsmen but of the entire sports movement in the Soviet Union as well. In a country as unique as the Soviet Union, why can there not be a unique sports system if the real historical precedents for it exist?

Estonian Personnel Moves Confirmed

PM0102172189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 2

["Resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on the Ratification of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees on the Appointment and Release of Estonian SSR Ministers and State Committee Chairmen"]

[Text] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

To ratify the following decrees of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"On the Appointment of Comrade Elmu Yaanovich Peek Estonian SSR Minister of Grain Products," dated 26 December 1988;

"On the Release of Comrade Kuno Eduardovich Todeson from His Duties as Estonian SSR Minister of Trade," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Appointment of Comrade Ants Yuryevich Laos Estonian SSR Minister of Trade," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Release of Comrade Vasiliy Nikiforovich Konstantinov from His Duties as Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Appointment of Comrade Yukhan Kheynovich Sillaste Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Release of Comrade Yaak Khendrikovich Allika from His Duties as Estonian SSR Minister and First Deputy Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Appointment of Comrade Lepo Andovich Sumera Estonian SSR Minister and First Deputy Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture," dated 17 January 1989;

"On the Release of Comrade Yuriy Nikolayevich Vladychin from His Duties as Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Prices," dated 17 January 1989.

[Signed] A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

V. Vakht, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Tallinn, 18 January 1989

NKAO Administration Official Interviewed

LD0102110789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Interview with (Vladimir Arapetovich Tarasyan), member of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast special administration committee, by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko; in Stepanakert, date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Omelchenko] The time is ripe for change, and everyone here in Nagorno-Karabakh is aware of this today, both those who want change and those who so far have been opposed to it. It is probably for this reason that when members of the special administration committee meet workers in factories they are showered with numerous questions. Questions are asked everywhere, and as a correspondent I have to answer them. It is obvious that although the majority support the special form of administration—temporary and enforced—people still know very little about it. (?It could not be otherwise); this is something new. I also have noticed that shady characters, opponents of a normalization of the situation, frequently take advantage of people's lack of understanding.

How is the special administration committee functioning? I put this question to one of its members, (Vladimir Arapetovich Tarasyan). He is in charge of the section that insures people's control in the NKAO.

[(Tarasyan)] The organs of people's control see their main task under conditions of special administration in activating all links of the system. This is expressed, first and foremost, in rendering maximum assistance to the special administration committee in resolving the issues of socioeconomic development in Nagorno-Karabakh within a short time. Proceeding from precisely these positions, the oblast people's control committee at a session some days ago examined questions concerning housing construction, commercial service for the population, and increasing the production of foodstuffs—especially meat—and providing them to the working people.

[Omelchenko] These are the areas where the oblast is hardest-pressed?

[(Tarasyan)] Yes, that is why we began our work with these, and the committee has made a good start.

[Omelchenko] But what do you intend to do to improve the functioning of the control organizations?

[(Tarasyan)] Working under new conditions requires that we involve the entire population in control activity. Therefore, a center for the reception of reports from the population has been created at the people's control committee. Its main task is to respond immediately and to adopt measures on instances of misuse.

[Omelchenko] (Vladimir Arapetovich), you are a member of the NKAO special administration committee. What do you expect from the special form of administration?

[(Tarasyan)] The task of the committee as a whole and of each of its members is, first and foremost, to attain through the solution of socioeconomic problems the oblast's full self-reliance, to attain a situation in which every Karabakh person feels himself to be full master of the land in which he lives and works. Tasks of transferring the oblast to self-sufficiency and self-financing are being brought to the forefront.

[Omelchenko] That is going over to territorial financial autonomy?

[(Tarasyan)] Yes, that is right, and it is realistic. We are optimistic, but there is hard work to be done.

Caucasus Muslim Leader Awarded for Peace Efforts

LD0102130689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1950 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] On 31 January Comrade Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented (Shaykulislam Allashukur Pashazade) with the Order of People's Friendship. The chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Transcaucasian Muslims was found deserving of the order for his patriotic activity.

Congratulating [words indistinct], Comrade Tatliyev pointed to (Shaykulislam)'s significant contributions to strengthening peace and friendship among countries and peoples and to improving mutual understanding among people without depending on their religious beliefs or nationality, as well as his efforts to protect and develop good-neighborly relations among the peoples of the Caucasus and to normalize the situation in the region.

It was pointed out that the department he leads has played a significant role in attracting religious people to participate in the task of restructuring in all spheres of life in society. His candidacy for the duty of USSR people's deputy shows that the process of democratization is being implemented consistently and that his peace-loving activity is appreciated.

After expressing his gratitude to the Soviet Government and the republican leadership for attaching a high value to efforts for achieving peace [word indistinct] on earth and [word indistinct] in the country, (Shaykulislam) said that his aim, above all, is to serve people. Muslim religious workers, while implementing their duties, base their opinion on the fact that religious people must, together with all Soviet people, contribute to the construction of the new society and to useful changes taking place in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

Baku Commandant Issues Situation Statement 2 Feb

NC0202185589 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Notice by military commandant of the Baku City Special District General Kolesnikov]

[Text] The inspection team from the USSR prosecutor's office is continuing work to uncover those (?who organized) conferences and participated in the activities provoking interethnic and [word indistinct] strife during public meetings from November 17 to December 5, 1988.

Measures are being taken to [words indistinct] the money collected during the meeting, and the said (?sums) are being contributed to the fund for the assistance of the (?resettled people). [Words indistinct], and thus on January 19 more than R (?13,000) have been handed over to the organisation for [word indistinct] which was confiscated from the so-called [word indistinct] committee. And again in January (?26) more than R5000 which has been dispatched to [word indistinct] by the Baku City main [word indistinct].

The situation in the city remains unchanged. The (?Introm), [name indistinct], (?January 24) Enterprise, Baku [name indistinct] factory, other industrial enterprises and labor collectives are fulfilling with the highest efficiency the production plans.

No violations of public law and order have taken place.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Lessons of Baku Strike 'Must Not Be Forgotten'

PM0202112489 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Viktor Andriyanov article: "The Strike: Lessons That Must Never Be Forgotten"]

[Excerpts] Baku, Moscow—Strikes, we knew, happened "over there". We remember how valiantly the British miners and the French dockers stood firm, how the authorities crushed the resistance of the American air traffic controllers.... We know that there used to be strikes here, too. Before. The Morozov strike, for instance, found its way into the history books.

"After the October Revolution, which created a proletarian state, the strike lost its meaning as a means of struggle for the interests of the working class," one encyclopedia asserts. "The strike is one of the main forms of class struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries, and consists in the collective refusal to continue work on the previously existing conditions," a second adds.

But whose interests was the Baku strike of 1988 upholding? And which academic classification did it fall into—political or economic? Partial or general? And was it, perhaps, a "sit-down strike," or a "slowdown"?

Experience shattered these theoretical, bookish classifications. Strikers took to the streets in our cities—Stepanakert, Yerevan. And then Baku.

The thinking reader tries to understand a situation that is new to us, to learn lessons. Let me cite just one of the many letters on this subject—from Leningrader S. Tikhomirov.

"Strikes undoubtedly disrupt the country's economy and make restructuring more difficult," he writes. "It is worst of all for the strikers themselves. Since they have taken this step, presumably they could see no other solution. It seems to me that we must find an explanation for what is happening.

"Unfortunately the press, including you, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, is full of nothing but reproach for the strikers. Analysis of the reasons why the dissatisfaction took this form and no other is virutally nonexistent. I think it is ridiculous to talk about shady individuals warming their hands at all this. And what is most worrying is that there is no attempt to learn lessons from such a serious, dramatic situation.

"Perhaps I am wrong in my opinions, and I would be very grateful if you would explain the crux of the matter so that I can understand the situation in greater depth."

Let us try to examine the situation using the recent Baku strike as an example—it developed and ended before my very eyes. [passage omitted]

At first it seemed to be only a question of Karabakh, that was where the flareup of national feelings originated. Initially the changing of slogans about Karabakh and precious Topkhana drowned out everything else. But gradually other voices broke through. One of the lists of demands that reached the republic Communist Party Central Committee included more than 20 items. Allocation of apartments. Admission to VUZ's. Ecology.... I could add: At the "Azelektromash" association they asked indignantly: Why is is the chairman of the labor collective council the chief engineer? They themselves elected him only recently.... Or were they forced to elect him? Now a worker heads the council. At the post office, strikers demanded that the workers' canteen be opened on the second shift too. What could appear simpler? Was it really necessary for the mailmen to throw down their sacks to achieve that? Could the chiefs, trade unions, people's control, and, finally, party committees not have thought about people's vital needs themselves?

At "Azelektromash" they drew conclusions as the strike went on. I have already mentioned the repeat election of the labor collective council chairman. Let me add that Azerbaijani language courses were opened during those days. The plant took on the responsibility of paying the teachers. Two hours of work time are allocated for studies—with no reduction in wages. The housing construction program has been expanded.

It has been said so many times that you have to study and know people's feelings, interests, and needs. I cannot say that Azerbaijan's party committees have not concerned themselves with this work. They have. A Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research has been set up under the republic Communist Party Central Committee. It has to its credit major studies of labor discipline, the higher education system, the struggle against unearned income.... Responding to the scientists' requests, many thousands of people sent in their letters, recommendations, and proposals. The letters were studied and commented on, decisions were taken, but life went its way, with an ever wider gulf between word and deed. This summer, the gap reached the critical point.... New people came to head the republic party organization. In a few months real steps were taken to meet people's vital interests and a direct dialogue began with workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia.

"But why did events reach their culmination again at this particular time, comrades?" A.-R. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, asked at a recent meeting of the republican social aktiv. In reply to this searching question, he spoke about the activity of clans, opponents of restructuring, and those who saw the course of cleaning up the atmosphere in the republic as a real danger that their positions and privileges would be undermined. "Neglect for the people's needs, extortion, and embezzlement mounted up over the years. Regardless of the opinion of Communists and working people, leaders who were unprincipled and sometimes discredited became heads of a number of party committees and soviet organs. It was during these troubled days that the helplessness of certain party committees became clear, as well as the political immaturity of their leaders, who refused to approach people and conduct an honest and open discussion....

Outside the great auditorium where the first secretary was speaking emotionally, it had long since grown dark. The crowd milling around the approaches to the Central Committee is no longer discernible. But I had seen it in the daytime.

I saw two Russian soldiers, together with an Azerbaijani militia man, leading an elderly Armenian woman out of trouble. They placed her in the foyer of the "Baku" hotel, and she sat stock-still, head bowed, looking lost. I saw the fury of some unshaven guys at the entrance to the footwear factory—soldiers barred their way. I saw columns from which passers-by shied away and cars hugged the edge of the road.... These people were apparently just the same as the man I met in the square earlier. You cannot make them hear, you cannot make them understand....

I do not know what words the party workers, the Baku commissars found on that day. And not even words, but instant actions and decisions. Those who had "seen" bodies were taken at once to the scene of the event. There were no bodies. Those who tried to invade the plant's territory or stop transport were now rebuffed by the workers themselves, together with the militia and servicemen. That was how Monday 5 December ended, the day that Baku's streets and squares hummed, Baku television showed classical music concerts and old movies all day, and the plants were working.... Yes, the workers had returned to their abandoned shops before then, on the Saturday and Sunday. And they no longer yielded to provocation.

So whose interests was the strike defending? The interests of the power behind the scenes, the interests of the "has-beens" who, gambling on real difficulties, national feelings, and patriotism, managed to win over a proportion of the workers, engineers, and students. Winning over some of them and forcing others with threats.

At the Lieutenant Shmidt Machine Building Plant they told me about two workers—I will not mention their names—well known for their conscientiousness. Both have big families, they even make up time in the shop after the shift, so they earn two or three times more than average. During the strike both of them were simply afraid to switch on their machine tools. So they each ended up R200 short. In the plant as a whole, the workers lost R213,000 on wages alone. Then there are the losses from the social development and material incentive funds and fines for delivery failures. In all, the result of the strike for a single workers' collective was the loss of R1.37 million and 91 apartments. And there are 750 people waiting in line.

At the "Azelektrosvet" Production Association hostel I met with Kanan and Rukhsara Masimov. They live in just one room. They have been living here for 10 years now. They hoped to move soon. They are first in line for a three-room apartment. Now, of course, the line will slow down. So the children—Ramin, who is in the third grade, and 6-year-old Khayalya—will have to wait for a room of their own. All of them are still in the one room. An elderly television set, a refrigerator, a cupboard, a guitar.... And there are two stories full of families like this.

"Did you go to the square too, Kanan?"

He smiles openly:

"Like everyone...."

"And your wages?"

"What could they pay us for? And we did not expect it: As the saying goes, if you don't work...."

In October Kanan and Rukhsara earned R352 between them. In November it was R123 less. And the family needs so many things. Purchases will have to be postponed....

The day after our meeting, the sad news came from Armenia. I learned that the whole of "Azelektrosvet" is contributing a day's wages to the earthquake victims. The Masimovs too. This was an expression of their natural and understandable feelings, and the same was true of workers at the factories and machine building plants.

The earthquake pushed everything else into the background. The strike could have been forgotten too. But its lessons must not be forgotten. It is now quite clear that very many people took this step through no will of their own.

"Shady individuals warming their hands at all this" is not, alas, ridiculous. It is the reality. They are the dealers in the black economy, and, incidentally, they are of various nationalities—nationality does not bother them. It was their men who stormed the plants. Their minions, sometimes in important jobs. Democracy, for them, is only a convenient cover.

"But democracy is not anarchy," Communist Dilavar Aliyev rightly noted at the Lieutenant Shmidt plant. "Who asked them to make people leave their jobs? They only make demands, they are in no hurry to do anything themselves. And all their shady deeds take place under cover of glasnost. Working people are in favor of order. and that is why we supported the imposition of special administration in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast."

Dilavar is right. It is a challenge from shady operators to social justice and the renewal of our society. Readers will yet have the opportunity to see face-to-face those who issued this challenge in Baku (and elsewhere).

Perhaps I have not answered all the questions raised in the letter. But we must all work together to learn the lessons of such dramatic situations. The director, the party worker, the team leader, the journalist, and the scientist. The encyclopedias I consulted at the beginning of my article are separated by a whole era—they date from 1935 and 1972—but the conclusions are the same. Thinking has not changed. Must we wait for the new edition to explain to us whether a strike is compatible with socialism? And if it is compatible, as life has already shown, how are we to prevent it?

Ryzhkov Speech to Armenian Party, Aktiv Published

PM0202094589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed account of speech by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at meeting of the Armenian republic party and economic aktiv in Yerevan on 17 January 1989; for the earlier reportage on the Armenian party and economic aktiv, see the 18 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 57-62]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! In today's discussion of important questions concerning the republic party organization's activity we cannot overlook the situation in which this activity takes place. You do not need me to tell you that the exacerbation of interethnic strife has left a heavy imprint on the republic's entire social life. This has caused sharp pain in Soviet people's hearts and minds. Specifically, the ensuing deterioration of the situation in the region has produced a phenomenon impermissible in our society: an artificially fanned migration of population from Armenia to Azerbaijan and from Azerbaijan to Armenia. The bitter word "refugees" has again appeared in the people's vocabulary.

This phenomenon offers perhaps the most convincing confirmation of a simple truth: More often than not, interethnic friction is by no means inspired or fanned by the working people but, as a rule, it is the ordinary people, the rank and file working people, who have to pay for it—with their prosperity, their home, their health, and sometimes even their lives.

Virtually the entire Azerbaijani population has left a number of Armenian cities and rayons and this, incidentally, is having a negative effect not only on the political but also on the economic situation in the region. This calamity was caused primarily by serious shortcomings in party committees' organizational and political work. Their efforts and the efforts of all Communists today must be aimed at rallying the working people on the basis of internationalism and ensuring fulfillment of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee aimed at stabilizing the situation in the republic and improving the health of interethnic relations.

Whenever passions are whipped up, there is a growing danger of rash and destructive mass actions; whenever there are signs of a precrisis situation, an especially important role has to be played by the intelligentsia, the spiritual mentors of their people. For centuries genuine members of the intelligentsia—in Armenia as elsewhere—have been Citizens with a capital "C" who share the pain of the entire fatherland, compassionate people distinguished by breadth and depth of thinking.

In this context, the extreme conditions in which the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples found themselves also made rigorous demands of their intelligentsia. Unfortunately, during the days of gravest trials, some people—even people professionally engaged in creative labor—were found wanting in terms of breadth of thinking and of compassion for their own people, let alone for the neighboring people. Was it not this shortage of breadth and humanism that led, for example, to people conducting discourteous and even fierce arguments about ownership of the land at various times without seeing, or else refusing to perceive, that their stormy polemics were exciting the minds of people in their thousands, spurring them on to unlawful actions, sowing dissension between peoples, and leading to tears and bloodshed?

Given that, historically, members of the intelligentsia have always felt sorrow at a child's tears, how can some of them today feel no responsibility for the rivers of tears shed over this period on Armenian and Azerbaijani soil?

Positive changes are emerging in their mental attitudes today. Maybe this most terrible grief has put spiritual values and priorities in their proper place. Maybe the wave of human compassion and sympathy which has flooded the republic from all corners of the country, maybe the course of restructuring itself, are promoting this difficult perception. The main point is to ensure that these curative processes are not retarded, are not diverted, and become irreversible. I am confident that Armenia's intelligentsia is fully capable of realizing the entire depth of its historical responsibility for its people's prosperity and mental health and for the humanity and culture of the human relations in whose formation it has to play a highly substantial role, and that it will take a firm and principled party stance.

Comrades! A situation has developed in the republic whereby the ideas of restructuring and its humanism, glasnost, and democracy seem to have become a shield for dubious actions and behavior by some irresponsible individuals. How can people tell the difference between true and false in the explosion of national self-awareness which is taking place now? I think it is easy to tell the difference when you are guided by a single criterion: Where have actions been prompted by sincere pain for the fate of society, of socialism, and of restructuring, and where have they been taken for the sole purpose of satisfying ambitions which make other people suffer. We talk a lot about foremen of restructuring, about its champions, about those who work all out and at times even sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of affirming social justice and human dignity in society—and such champions exist also in Armenia. It is, however, equally important to clearly speak about the poachers of restructuring, about those who take advantage of the revolutionary political moment for purely ambitious goals.

It must be frankly admitted: What has happened in Armenia and Azerbaijan over the last few months has distorted in the eyes of millions of people the image and reputation of these peoples which were established over the centuries. Many are now asking the agonizing question: How come, in the heat of reciprocal insults, people in this land famed for its generosity of spirit and its openheartedness seem to have forgotten the eternal wisdom: "Your happiness cannot be built on someone else's misfortune"?

In situations like this responsibility, consideration, and the ability to meet others halfway and to make sensible compromises must prevail—this is the political and folk wisdom of the two peoples.

A healthy assessment of the real situation is necessary today also because of the major decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh, with which you are already familiar. The task of the newly created Committee for the Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which will be directly subordinate to the supreme organ of state power and administration in the USSR, is to normalize the sociopolitical situation in the oblast, to ensure public order and citizens' safety, to organize uninterrupted work by all enterprises and organizations, and to arrange for normal living conditions for the population. Its main objective is to achieve the consolidation of social forces on an internationalist basis.

The decision made on Nagorno-Karabakh represents, of course, substantial assistance from the center to both union republics. Union organs are taking on the considerable burden of concerns for the normalization of the situation in NKAO and for the oblast's socioeconomic development. This is a compromise which maintains a mutually acceptable balance between the interests of the two union republics. It is an expression of the party's considered and principled course in the sphere of nationalities policy, a course aimed at overcoming interethnic dissension, stabilizing the situation, and consolidating friendly fraternal relations between the peoples. I believe that this decision is the best possible in the current complex situation, and it could be perceived as an achievement by all who are aware of the abyss into which people might be led by political adventurers if the latter are not rebuffed, if people blindly succumb to emotions and lose their common sense.

The adoption of measures by central organs does not in any way relieve the total responsibility borne by the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committees for ensuring a healthier political and ideological atmosphere around Nagorno-Karabakh. They must channel the efforts of party organizations and all Communists into a radical change in the situation, the normalization of social life in the republics, and the consistent implementation of restructuring. Of course, the Central Committees of both republics' Communist Parties must do everything possible to arrange close working contacts between themselves, to ensure collaboration in the solution of the questions arising, and to operate on a joint front against antirestructuring forces which are undermining the union of soviet republics, against any actions which provoke interethnic friction.

Tremendous damage was inflicted on the cause of interethnic relations by those who speculated on people's social discontent which had built up during the stagnation period, on their resentment at violations of the principles of social justice and the serious deformations in cadre policy. Camouflaging themselves with the slogan for a fair solution to Nagorno-Karabakh's problems, they launched a cynical struggle for power, which entailed grave consequences.

Deliberately exploiting people's national feelings and the prestige and even the talent of some representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and the complicity and at times even open patronage of the authorities, political adventurers ultimately placed themselves in opposition to the general democratic processes and healthy social forces in the republic and occupied narrowly nationalistic and antirestructuring positions.

Members of the "Karabakh" Committee's aktiv played a fateful role in the fanning of interethnic passions, specifically by organizing disturbances on national grounds, driving thousands of totally innocent citizens out of their native homes, and whipping up sociopolitical tension in the republics. The speculative nature of this committee was openly displayed during the days of nationwide grief when, afraid of being swept into the background by the wave of nationwide calamity and internationalism, these would-be defenders of national interests started disseminating sundry threatening ultimatums, making intimidating use of weapons, rubbing salt into the people's wounds, and spreading false rumors—in short, they did everything for the sake of keeping in the public eye and remaining afloat.

Life teaches us realism, it teaches us that not a single problem can be solved by waving some sort of magic wand, that everything depends on the collective will and common sense, on the ability to understand one another and feel compassion for one another, and finally on the ability and willingness to work as demanded by restructuring. As for gullibility, it produces nothing but myths and profound disillusionment. Specifically, it is no secret that even now some people in the republic seem to be hypnotized by the image of "lovers of truth" diligently cultivated by the committee's members, something that was—true enough—done with help from numerous assistants.

The decision adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh virtually eliminates the base for interethnic friction. But it would be incorrect to hope that normalization will appear automatically or exclusively from above. Here there is need for considered and consistent work from both sides and at all levels. In this work it will be exceptionally important to intensify healthy influences on young people and to redirect their activeness along the tracks of restructuring, the tracks of constructive goals. Party committees, the Komsomol, and trade unions must not tolerate passiveness, they must not sit on the fence, they must go to people and must lead them to great things, to the solution of urgent problems, to overcoming the consequences of the destructive earthquake with help from all nations and nationalities in the country.

The decision adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh is neither a victory nor a defeat for anyone in particular, it is a common victory. It was dictated by a sole consideration—to ease tension in the region, to restore order, to give people an opportunity to lead a normal life, to work, and to bring up their children. This is the yardstick that must be applied to this decision in our explanatory and political work.

There is plenty of food for thought here. In 1988 Armenia's economy developed more slowly than that of most other union republics and was below the average for the country. Looking at the first 11 months of 1988 (the period before the earthquake), industrial production in the country as a whole increased 4.0 percent, while the output of industrial production in Armenia increased only 0.4 percent, which is just one-tenth of the all-union average. Some 40 percent of the republic's industrial enterprises and associations failed to ensure fulfillment of their contract commitments, and there was a R320-million shorftfall in deliveries to consumers.

The reasons for these problems are well known. They are, primarily, the consequences of strikes which caused turmoil throughout the republic last year. The mass failure to report for work also had a grave effect on the solution of the republic's social problems. During the first 11 months of 1988 the annual program for commissioning housing was only 58 percent fulfilled. There was only 25 percent fulfillment of the annual target for the commissioning of clubs, houses of culture, and polyclinics. The commissioning of hospitals, schools, and preschool institutions was thwarted.

It is impossible to carry on living like this. In view of all this, how can we talk about raising the people's living standards? I believe that Armenia's intellectual, labor, and production potential is fully adequate to enable the republic not only to make good the laggardness but also to forge ahead along all the most important avenues of socioeconomic development. I am confident that this would be welcomed with great understanding and respect throughout the country and would boost the reputation of the republic party organization and of Armenia as a whole within the family of fraternal peoples.

Comrades! Today it is obvious to everyone that the scale of restoration work in Armenia is such that the republic will be unable to cope with it on its own. Here there is need for concerted efforts. Taking advantage of this opportunity, and on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government, I would like to express heartfelt thanks to all republics, central ministries and departments, and all comrades who are now helping Armenia, who are ensuring the deliveries of freight and the evacuation of the population, and who are actually working in the earthquake zone. To express thanks, and at the same time to address all working people and labor collectives: In order to repair the destruction within 2 years and to organize life in this vast region, it is necessary to maintain unabated the efforts to help fraternal Armenia.

In this context the central economic departments, union republics, ministries, and enterprises are faced with the task of more actively seeking out all possible reserves. And of course, a major task is facing Armenia itself—not only as regards the most rational utilization of aid but also as regards enhancing the efficiency of the republic's entire national economic complex along the paths of restructuring.

It is necessary to concentrate on this at this crucial time. This will determine the fate of restructuring, on which depends the fate of our multinational people, their civic and social awareness, their prestige in the contemporary world. Restructuring is international in its spirit because its goals bring together the aspirations of all Soviet peoples, including those in the sphere of interethnic relations. No matter what we do today, everything must be measured against its yardstick—are we contributing to its advance or are we, on the contrary, holding it back. Intensive and concerted work to heal the wounds of long-suffering Armenia, sober and—if need be—harsh lessons from past events, stabilization of the life and labor of the people's masses in this vast region, the overcoming of the serious breakdowns in the economy and in the spiritual, social, and political spheres—today this is the main work for every Communist and every Soviet person in the name of restructuring. In the name of changes for the better throughout the country, of boosting the prosperity and well-being of all our peoples who are experiencing, maybe not directly but experiencing nevertheless, the consequences of the earthquake no matter how far from Armenia they may be. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the government hope that Armenia's Communists, its healthy social forces, and its industrious people will rise up to their tasks at this hour of shared trials and responsibility.

'Shouting' at Meeting on Khabarovsk AES Plans

PM0102152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by L. Pyatiletova under the rubric "Keen Alarm Signal": "Song and Dance Around AES"]

[Text] Khabarovsk Kray—There is a children's game called faulty telephone. In life, when adults do not even try to listen to each other when discussing problems which are no laughing matter, although they speak out loud, one does not feel like laughing. Unfortunately that was precisely the feeling I had after a meeting between a group of workers of the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and others departments connected with it and the kray's public.

Should there be an AES in the kray or not? That was the categorical way in which the local television's topical problems studio emphasized the point of the forthcoming discussion, inviting anyone who wanted to take part in it. Thousands of signatures of inhabitants of Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Amursk, and a number of population centers backed up the unambiguous: "Down with the AES." Only then, responding to the krayispolkom's request, did the ministry leaders decide to go to the site of the event. Meanwhile over a year had elapsed since the start of the investigation. The bureaucrats had refused to meet with people until the last moment, doing everything to defend the proposal to limit themselves to a press conference. It was only the inevitability of explaining themselves to dilettantes which brought them to the meeting.

No, of course, these words were not uttered out loud. But the conduct of the guests from the capital and the tone they adopted attested eloquently to how cumbersome this burden was for them. For instance, those assembled expressed fears as to the haste in preparing for the construction of such a crucial establishment. But Deputy Minister Ye. Reshetnikov proudly announced that.... the ministry was making better progress in the kray than at other construction sites.

Candidate of historical Sciences Ye. Gayer, a social anthropologist, spoke twice. She had come specially from Vladivostok to find out how the AES was influencing the lives of the peoples of the Amur region—it is in their native places of habitation that promising construction sites are seen to exist. These same questions were put one after the other by the Nanai, the Even, and representatives of other ethnic groups.

Arguing properly in favor of the economic expediency of erecting the station and its advantages over other options—even that proved to be beyond the power of the presidium, which occupied two rows of seats with a name card in front of each.

Over the course of the past year PRAVDA and other central newspapers frequently wrote about how the gross-output principle on which this document was built could lead the kray into economic deadlock or even further. The people of the Far East want the errors committed during planning to be put right now, without waiting for the year 2000. But meanwhile they are again being called to scale heights outlined in the quiet of offices.

Noise and shouting accompanied almost every speech and people were using not only speeches but also their elbows at the microphone. Fortunately midnight was drawing near.... Matters did not reach the point of a vote as to whether or not there should be an AES. In the morning serviceman V. Sokolov telephoned to the PRAVDA correspondents' center and said:

"I am ashamed for yesterday's song and dance, which I saw on television. Do we not have other ways of studying the problem apart from a verbal tug of war?"

I think there is another way. For instance, a perfectly sensible idea crept in during the discussion—creating a public council to examine and assess the plan and electing publicly [glasno] those whom the population trust to obtain exhaustive answers to all the questions which perturb them. And the departments should not dissociate themselves from them but render them every assistance and weigh up all the pros and cons once more together with the people. And then, and not now, when the two positions—bureaucratic and emotional—are flooding over, it will be possible to make a decision.

Work on Dnieper-Bug Hydraulic Complex To Stop

LD0202171189 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev February 2 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the Ukraine has decided to stop the construction of the Dnieper-Bug hydraulic complex. This project was to be one of the first stages of the large-scale Danube-Dnieper hydraulic complex.

The idea of building one more dam on the Dnieper, to be more exact across the Dnieper-Bug Firth, thereby creating a new reservoir to meet the water requirements of the republic's national economy, has triggered off a stormy controversy. The project proponents insisted that the Ukraine's fresh water resources were limited, particularly in the southern region, adjoining the Black Sea. The only way out of this predicament, they believed, was to create a hydraulic complex. True, the spendings would be immense, nature would be harmed inevitably, but there would be enough water, and that's what mattered for them.

The republican Academy of Sciences, the Council for the Study of the Ukraine's Productive Forces, the republican state committee for the protection of nature, other public organisations and the mass media were sharply opposed to the project. The Dnieper-Bug complex, as the Danube-Dnieper project in general, they argued, was fraught with extremely negative, most unpredictable ecolological consequences for the southern areas, watered by the Dnieper and Bug Rivers, for the entire Black Sea region, which is famous as a national health resort with its numerous child health- building eastablishments.

Viktor Filonenko, chairman of the Ukrainian State Committee for the Protection of Nature, said in a TASS interview that the project was basically erroneous from the economic point of view. It is based on the dubious assertion that steadily growing water consumption in the Ukraine, its 100 per cent growth every 15-20 years, were inevitable. In the meantime, the danger of water shortage arises from our past mismanagement. The way out of the predicament is to be sought in the more economic use of the available hydroresources instead of drawing ever increasing amounts of water into the economic circuit. Introduction in industry of running cycles and low-water consumption technologies has yielded an economy in 1981-1988 which exceeds the Dnieper's annual discharge.

The Ukrainian Government's decision stresses that questions of economy and ecology are interdependent and should be solved accordingly in the interests of the whole society.

More on Ukraine Presidium Session; Reports Given

AU0102135289 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Holds a Session"]

[Text] On 27 January the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held a session.

The session examined the activity of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in 1988, and approved a plan for the main measures which are to be taken by the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and permanent commissions in the first half of the year.

The session discussed the decision of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions on conceding the status of an official language to Ukrainian while securing native-Russian bilingualism, and on the functioning and development of the languages of national minorities living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. Reports were delivered by L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Commission for the Questions of Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and B.I. Oleynik, chairman of the Commission for Education and Culture.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium found the commissions' pleading timely and in conformity with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "on interethnic relations," and commissioned the Legislative Proposals Commission of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet along with the Commissions for the Questions of Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and for Education and Culture to prepare proposals concerning appropriate amendments in the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, and the draft law on the language.

The Presidium listened a report delivered by A.F. Molchanov, Nikolayev Gorispolkom chairman, on the work performed by Nikolayev Soviet of People's Deputies to fight bureaucratism and promote democracy and glasnost in the activity of administrative and economic organs, and adopted a decision that will be published in the press.

Also some other issues concerning the republic's state life were examined.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; and V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council chairman, took part in the discussion.

The session was presided over by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

Ukraine Presidium Examines State Language Issue

LD3101113989 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, at its today's sitting, examined an issue on granting Ukrainian the status of a state language. Discussed were also the decisions of the permanent commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on granting the Ukrainian language the status of a state one, with the insurance of the national Russian bilingualism, functioning and development of the language of national minorities inhabiting the territory of the Ukraine.

The presidium of the supreme soviet of the Ukraine considered the petition of the commissions as timely and corresponding to the resolution of the 19th national party conference on interethnic relations, and entrusted the commission of the legislative proposals of the supreme soviet of the republic and the commissions on patriotic and internationalist education and interethnic relations, as well as the one on education and culture, to prepare proposals on introducing corresponding amendments to the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR.

Ukraine Prepares for 9 March Shevchenko Jubilee

AU0102141689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo heard a report recently by Comrade M.A. Orlik, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and chairman of the republic-level committee for commemorating the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko, on the plan for the main jubilee events and on the state of preparations for them.

The following ceremonies are planned for 9 March: the presentation of state T.G. Shevchenko prizes; the opening of an exhibition, a film festival, and a new exposition in the T.G. Shevchenko state museum which has been reconstructed; and a festive soiree in the Kiev Opera and Ballet House named after the great poet. A republic-level scientific conference dedicated to the Bard's life and works is to be held in March.

The participants of the jubilee festivities will visit places remembered in connection with Shevchenko in Cherkassy Oblast.

The traditional all-union Shevchenko literary and art festival, "In a new and free family," will be held in May. Meetings at the poet's grave in Kanev and at his monument in Kiev will be important parts of the festival. The all-union "Kiev Spring" art festival and the all-union festival of Slavic literature and culture will be held in Kiev as part of the Shevchenko jubilee.

Scholars who specialize in Shevchenko's works will come from Moscow, Leningrad, fraternal union republics, and from abroad to participate in the celebrations.

The session found it particularly important to prepare thoroughly for the the concluding events of the important jubilee. The need was emphasized to speed up and to complete on time and well the restoration of memorial monuments, and to provide public services and amenities at places connected with T.G. Shevchenko's life in the Ukraine.

Ukraine Official Receives Kiev Metropolitan

AU3101165489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[Ratau Report: "Receiving the Exarch of the Ukraine"]

[Text] The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V.S. Shevchenko, received the patriarch's exarch of the Ukraine and metropolitan of Kiev and Galich on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the latter's birth. The metropolitan received a congratulatory message along with verbal wishes of good health, happiness, and successes in the struggle for peace, in educating the orthodox believers in the spirit of restructuring, and in enhancing their labor and public activity. Metropolitan Filaret expressed gratitude for the congratulations, highly assessed the reinstatement of the Leninist principles in relations between the state and the church, and declared that, like all inhabitants of the republic, the parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church existing in the Ukraine and their clergy and laymen not only approved the policy of renewing socialist society, but also worked for this purpose. He said that the church would increase its contribution to patriotic funds, would even more actively speak out for peace, and would participate in preserving cultural and historical monuments, as well as in the general movement to defend the environment.

N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, and N.A. Kolesnik, chairman of the Council for the affairs of Religions under the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, participated in the discussion that was held.

Ukraine Sends Condolence Message to Tajikistan

AU0102135589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 1

["To the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The news about the casualties and devastation caused by the earthquake in Gissarskiy Rayon in Tajikistan has reverberated with pain and sorrow in our hearts.

The people of the Ukraine express condolences and sympathy to all those who have lost their relatives and close friends, to the victims of this natural disaster.

At the time of this great misfortune, the Tajik people may firmly count on fraternal assistance and support on the part of our republic's working people.

[Signed] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

The city of Kiev, 24 January 1989.

Uzbek Party Views Khabibullayev Misdeeds

PM0202171589 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted a resolution "On the results of an investigation into criticism leveled at Comrade P. Khabibullayev, member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by Communist Comrade M. Zakhidov at Sabir-Rakhimovskiy Rayon and Tashkent City report-and-election party conferences."

Addressing the rayon and city party conferences, which were held in November and December 1988, Comrade M. Zakhidov, deputy secretary of the Tashkent State University Party Committee, leveled serious criticism at Comrade P. Khabibullayev, member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and cited information compromising the latter as a leader and scientist. The speeches noted in particular that Comrade P. Khabibullayev made extensive use, in both his scientific and his official posts, of his personal contacts with former republic leaders who had compromised themselves, kowtowing to them, and seeing to it that their relatives' prospered in the scientific and official sphere.

Comrade P. Khabibullayev's personal indiscretion was also mentioned, his weakness for having his name mentioned alongside that of prominent scientists and specialists as coauthor of various publications. Further, Comrade P. Khabibullayev was accused of violation of financial discipline in the office of President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences. By dint of all this, his appointment to the post of chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet was wrong, in Comrade M. Zakhidov's view, and evoked a negative reaction in the republic.

The investigation revealed that on the whole the information cited by Comrade M. Zakhidov corresponds with reality. It was confirmed that Comrade P. Khabibullayev actively assisted the rise in the official and scientific sphere of close relatives of former republican leaders who had compromised themselves. So, for instance, with his assistance, Comrade V.N. Khudayberdyyev, son of the former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, was given a job at the Uzbek SSR Academy and climbed the career ladder. After graduating from an institute in 1977, he was accepted as junior scientific staffer at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences department of heat physics. Two years later he was promoted to senior scientific staffer, and a year after that to head of the laboratory.

It also corresponds to the truth that under Comrade P. Khabibullayev's leadership Comrade A.I. Muminov, son-in-law of Sh.R. Rashidov, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, was given work and promotion. In 1983 Comrade A.I. Muminov was appointed first deputy director of the Nuclear Physics Institute without posessing the necessary professional or political qualifications for this. Articles coauthored by A.I. Muminov and P. Khabibullayev were published.

While Comrade P. Khabibullayev was director of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Physics Institute, E. Sabirova, the wife of I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, was given a job there as junior scientific staffer with a salary of R165 without an interview. From the first day of her employment she was attached by an internal order to the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physiology. The length of the attachment was not specified; an agreement on joint research between the two institutes was concluded only 18 months later. Comrade E. Sabirova put in an appearance at the Physiology Institute at most 3-4 times a month. During the whole period of her employment she did not submit a single report. Effectively, she was drawing wages without doing any work.

It also proved correct that Comrade P. Khabibullayev, as a result of his personal indiscretion, frequently sought to appear as the coauthor of many scientific articles. A total of 322 such articles were published. This happened especially frequently while Comrade P. Khabibullayev held the posts of vice president and president of the Academy of Sciences.

Comrade P. Khabibullayev is not active in the struggle against negative phenomena in the republic. Comrade P. Khabibullayev's constant emphasis on his importance in Soviet and world science and the self-glorification of his personality are evoking a negative reaction among the scientific public and the party aktiv.

Comrade P. Khabibullayev's attempt to exert pressure on the course of the present investigation, his encouragement of toadying, and the continuation of the organized campaign to collect signatures in his defense have attracted attention.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolves:

1. In view of the fact that Communist Comrade P. Khabibullayev has admitted his scientific indiscretion and made a self-critical assessment of his actions which took the shape of kowtowing to former republic leaders who had compromised themselves and establishing their relatives in scientific and official posts, to confine itself to a discussion and to comply with his personal request to be transferred to scientific work.

To submit this question for discussion by an extraordinary session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

2. To acknowledge the statement of Comrade A.S. Yefimov, chairman of the republic People's Control Committee that administrative steps will be taken against the people responsible for the unjustified payment wages totaling some R5,000 to Comrade E. Sabirova.

RFSSR Council of Ministers on Economic Reform

LD3001194189 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—A radical reform of the Russian Federation's economy has brought about positive changes in this sphere. This conclusion has been drawn by participants in a session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers held here today. They analysed the results of the socio-economic development of the republic, the biggest of the union republics, in 1988 and in the three years of the 12th Five-Year-Plan period.

It was pointed out at the session that during that period the economic growth rate and the efficiency of the republican economy had increased. The whole of the increment of the national income, 3.5 per cent, was achieved in 1986-1988 through the growth of labour productivity by an average 3.9 per cent as against 3.2 per cent in the previous five-year-plan period. It is also noteworthy that those results were attained at the time when the number of workers employed in the production sphere was reduced by 590,000, which is evidence of the development of intensive forms of work.

A social orientation of the economic development has become more prominent. The scope of housing construction is increasing. Apart from it, the production of consumer goods is continually growing, along with the volume of their selling to the population. Thus, the volume of retail trade turnover exceeded in 1988 the level of the previous year by 13 billion roubles, or by about 7 per cent.

At the same time, participants in the session pointed out that the economic reform was not working at full capacity yet, and positive trends had not become stable. A difficult financial situation of the republic and its growing budget deficit continue to pose a serious problem. Wages continue to grow quicker than labour productivity. As a result of it the money is paid to the people which they have not actually earned. There is not enough goods and services to balance the growth of incomes, which brings about their shortage.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Aleksandr Vlasov, alternate Politbureau member and chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, singled out as the priority task the working out of emergency measures for improving the financial situation of the republic. These include a radical improvement of the investment policy, the reduction of the number of projects under construction, the closing down of loss-making enterprises and the elimination of disproportions between the demand, on the one hand, and the volume of goods and services on the other.

The government of the Russian Federation suggested that the agro-industrial complex of the republic ensure a real improvement of the food situation through the development of the food processing industry and the reduction of losses of the farm produce.

The session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers was attended by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Politbureau member and president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Kazakh Plenum Discusses Labor Resources Surplus

LD3101110989 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum! To improve inter-ethnic relations! For the harmonization of inter-ethnic relations, and for the better internationalist education of people, it is particularly important to create for each person the essential conditions for obtaining education, a choice of work to his liking, and self-expression as an individual. The serious shortcomings that were allowed to occur here in the period of stagnation have led to a situation in which a surplus of labor resources has come about in certain regions of Kazakhstan. At the same time, they are lacking in a number of others. Radical changes have now occurred, as was noted at a conference at the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on this matter. The plans for increasing the number of people engaged in public-sector production is being outstripped, especially in the southern oblasts where labor surpluses prevail. Stress was laid at the conference on the importance of scientifically produced figures so that the problems of utilizing labor resources might be correctly addressed. The conference also examined other problems relating to the rational utilization of labor resources. An urgent need has arisen for more effective protection of citizens' social rights. The point is that, with the transition to financial autonomy and the creation of cooperatives, young, inexperienced people, women, and invalids have begun to leave collectives in some places. For this reason it would be expedient to retain for them definite job quotas. Attention was also drawn to the necessity that servicemen being released as a result of the well known reduction in Armed Forces should not encounter difficulties in being accepted for work. Speaking at the conference was Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

Kazakh Internal Ministry Considers Crime Figures

LD3101112989 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] An enlarged session of the collegium of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has been held. With the participation of leaders of internal affairs administrations of oblispolkoms and the transportation sector, it examined the results of 1988. It was an unusual session. The processes of democratization and glasnost, which are gaining in depth in the republic, have substantially amended the work of the ministry's leading body.

For the first time, figures for all categories of crime- - which just yesterday were closely guarded secrets—were openly cited, and this is not a concession to fashion. Full glasnost is required primarily by the interests of the cause of the law-governed state being created. Concern, sharp criticism, and self-criticism were voiced in the reports by Minister Knyazev, the head of the (Suleymenov) political administration, and in the majority of the speeches, even though there was something good to report: the number of murders and rapes had gone down by 2 percent, and acts of hooliganism by 17 percent. Essentially all serious crimes, which received a great public response, were solved. Simultaneously with the intensification of the fight against negative phenomena, painstaking work was carried out on improving the structure of the organs, and the administrative apparatus was reduced; the district inspector service and duty sections were strengthened. However, the main attention was devoted to the determination and elaboration of main guidelines for further action, and to the need to focus efforts on the most unfavorable areas.

Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the collegium session. Taking part in the work of the collegium were Yefimov, head of the CP of Kazakhstan Central Committee State Law Department and leaders of the republic's law-enforcement organs.

*MVD Press Bureau To Release Crime Statistics

WA18000468 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Yu. Arshenevskiy, deputy chief of the press bureau of the USSR MVD, by A. Vasilyev and V. Belykh: "Law and Order Without Secrets"]

[Text] A decision has been made to disclose previously secret statistics of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The figures, concealed until recently, concerning crime in our country and the results of the fight against it will become public property. Our correspondent met with the deputy chief of the press bureau of the USSR MVD, Col of the Militia Yu. Arshenevskiy.

[TRUD] Yuriy Ivanovich, does it not seem to you that this is a necessary measure? After all, many of these figures have already appeared repeatedly in the press.

[Arshenevskiy] Still, up until the present not all figures concerning crime in our country have been published. Moreover, those which have reached the reader have frequently been wrong. Now it has been decided to make all of this information public property. There is no point in concealing the real picture for the overall crime level in our country is considerably lower than it is in the majority of developed countries. The more so since this step is only a repetition of what has already been done. During the first years of Soviet power no secrets were kept out of the criminal chronicles, but when the real truth was replaced by the truth for show, the statistics concerning legal violations were gradually swept under the cover of "secret."

[TRUD] If there are no more secrets, tell us about what has happened during the first month of the new year.

[Arshenevskiy] In January there were 111 deliberate murders, of which 93 have already been solved. The majority were so-called "domestic" murders. They were caused by drunkenness and jealousy. Thus on 24 January at 3:30 a.m. in the village of Nastasino in Ivanovo Oblast, a worker on the Vostok Sovkhoz while drunk shot his wife and her friend with a hunting rifle.

We cannot but be concerned that more and more frequently murders are committed with special cruelty and frequently by psychologically disturbed individuals. One typical example: on 23 January in Zaporozhye, a mental patient D. Surodeyev, born in 1968, used a knife and hammer to do away with his uncle and sister.

Since the beginning of the New Year there have been 137 muggings and so far only 61 of them have been solved. An alarming signal is that more and more frequently the victims of crimes are owners of private automobiles who are earning extra money by transporting passengers.

The so-called "targeted" robberies are also increasing. For example, in the city of Yessentuki former workers of a gas cylinder station encountered their former boss on the street. They tied him up, took away his documents, and took the keys to his work place. When the criminals were arrested it was explained that they had used the stolen keys to open the safe and had taken from there 20 gold items and 52 savings bank books with a total deposit of 244,000 rubles. The bandits will get their just deserts, and measures are now being taken to restore the source of the victims savings.

There were 18 thefts of weapons, mainly from firing ranges and arms rooms of vocational and technical schools and other schools. Eight of these crimes have been solved. The January statistics contain 12 group poisonings; they are related to drinking liquids used as substitutes for alcoholic beverages. Three times this year on the streets of our cities there were explosions prepared by hooligan elements. Their organizers have been arrested.

This month one policeman was killed and 12 were wounded while performing their official duties of maintaining public order.

For their part, our workers used their weapons 11 times and, as the investigations showed, they were all justified.

[TRUD] And how will we be able to find out these statistics in the future?

[Arshenevskiy] For the time being representatives of the editorial staffs of newspapers and magazines will be able to obtain the information they are interested in by going directly to the press bureau of the USSR MVD. In the future we plan to publish a statistical bulletin. Perhaps in time anyone who wants it will be able to subscribe to it.

We hope that these measures will help the public to participate actively in the fight against legal violations.

Zaykov Closing Speech at Moscow City Conference

PM0302104789 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 1

["Concluding Speech by L.N. Zaykov," member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, delivered 21 January 1989 on second and final day of the 27th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference in the House of Unions Hall of Columns in Moscow, under general heading: "To Maintain a Firm Pace of Restructuring, To March Boldly Ahead Without Fear of Difficulties"; Zaykov's party gorkom report, delivered to the conference on 20 January, was published in the 27 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 46-53]

[Text] Our conference has thoroughly discussed the questions raised by the report and examined virtually all avenues of party work.

I want to express sincere thanks to all the comrades who spoke for their meaningful proposals, constructive criticism, and principled appraisal of the party gorkom's activity.

The new party gorkom which we have to elect today will carefully study the submitted proposals and will take them into account in its work.

Comrades, I would like to express on your behalf heartfelt thanks to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the party and government leaders for having taken part in the conference's work. The capital's Communists highly value the support which our city party organization constantly receives from the party Central Committee, and we are well aware that this support calls for a lot in return, it demands more persistent and more purposeful work and joint efforts by the party gorkom and all party organizations in solving the large-scale and responsible tasks of restructuring.

It is very important to ensure that the conference delegates, taking advantage of collective experience, seek solutions to the most acute problems of the capital's development. Only by comparing different points of view will it be possible to elaborate the most considered program of action, unburdened by either excessive slowness or leftist jumping of the gun.

The entire course of the conference proves the great activeness of delegates. No one has remained indifferent to the questions being discussed these days in the House of Unions Hall of Columns. This is proved by the speeches, the debates, and the businesslike conversations during the breaks between sessions.

Many justified critical remarks were made at the conference. To be truthful, there was less self-criticism. But I do not think that it is all that important to accurately define the exact proportion; it is more important to learn to correctly perceive criticism, to draw correct conclusions from it, and to respond to it with specific deeds.

This perception was strengthened during the conference. Hence its distinctive atmosphere of party comradeship, mutual exactingness, and openness. I believe that I would not be sinning against truth if I were to say that we have succeeded in maintaining the atmosphere of the 19th all-union party conference. Now it is necessary to convey this spirit and the essence of the decisions to be adopted today to every Communist, to every Muscovite working person.

A firm course has been adopted—and this was mentioned in the report—of enhancing the role and responsibility of every party gorkom member for the state of affairs in the city and its party organization.

The transition to political methods of leadership, affirmation of the elected organ's supremacy over the party apparatus, refusal to supplant soviet and economic organs, and expansion of democracy in intraparty relations—these are the basic directions in which we ought to improve our work.

Much diverse work has to be done, but all of it must be approached with equal responsibility. Here it is very important to fully overcome the freeloading sentiments which are at times displayed in one sphere or another. We have to restore the capital's attractive appearance and create maximum comforts for people living in it. This task demands joint efforts by all Muscovites without exception. But it is incumbent upon the Moscow City party organization to head this work and to channel the energy of our millions of fellow Muscovites in the right direction.

Many letters from Muscovites were received after publication of the theses of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's report. Most of them contain weighty and constructive proposals. They will all be thoroughly studied, the collective experience of the capital's Communists and all its working people has been and remains an asset of the Moscow party organization.

Demands on Modern Leaders Seen as 'Heavy Burden'

PM0202153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Democracy and Glasnost Putting Leaders to the Test": "Greater Trust—Stronger Demands"]

[Text] Without any exaggeration, historically significant, revolutionary changes are taking place in the social and spiritual life of our society. The powerful political and intellectual initiative of the Communist Party has set the people's creative strength in motion. Their energy and ideas are being liberated from excessive constraint and instruction and from all manner of regulations characteristic of the stagnation era. You can see this even from the nature and intensity of feeling surrounding the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputies. None of the voters has been indifferent—which is not how it has frequently been in the past. This unusual atmosphere of great openness has compelled the leaders of labor collectives and party workers to get their act together and look at many things in a new light.

It is indeed true that many barriers have collapsed beneath the onslaught of the vivifying democratization processes. Glasnost as the norm of life, established in a special resolution of the 19th all-union party conference, no longer surprises anyone. We derive increasing pleasure from the diversity of ideas and views expressed and valuable suggestions made. This is helping us to shake ourselves free of the residual phenomena from the time of stagnation and "universal approval" and to cast off outmoded, stereotyped ideas.

The novelty of the social atmosphere is primarily a serious test for leaders and party workers of all ranks: Whether the leader of a lease link, a minister, or a secretary of the Central Committee. Restructuring is the best possible practical test of their true qualities—ideological conviction, competence, an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings, and the ability to steadfastly uphold people's vital interests as equal to state interests.

"In my opinion, the vocation of a leader is now mainly put to the test by real action, ardent faith in restructuring, and concern for its progress," G. Skoropad, a worker from Chelyabinsk, wrote to PRAVDA. "We must also judge a leader's abilities by his attitude to opinions and criticism 'from below' and to the needs of the working people. And, finally, he should be judged by his personal conduct in extreme situations: At moments of interethnic tension, natural disasters, and serious conflicts. Anyone invested with authority and the trust of those around him does not have the right to take the attitude of a bystander, show his indecision, or lose his presence of mind. In short, whoever is given the greatest trust has the strongest demands made of him. And if, in a difficult situation, he lacks the necessary courage and principle, he should step down and make way for someone more worthy."

It must be admitted that the majority of the country's labor collectives and primary party organizations have noticeably made the criteria tougher for leaders to be elected. It is no accident that preference is given increasingly frequently to bold innovators and real champions of restructuring. They have the ability to rebuff embezzlers of state property and self-seekers, distinguish between healthy criticism and demagoguery, appreciate the value of good workers, and call careless workers strictly to account. In short, people are putting their trust in those who try to achieve a breakthrough in work by rallying collectives on a principled, businesslike basis.

For example, the achievements of working people at the Aliyev Sovkhoz are well known in Dagestan and far beyond its borders. For many years the collective has been led by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Aliyev, who has succeeded in cultivating leaders and leading specialists as true masters of like mind. As the initiators of useful undertakings and progressive forms of labor, they lead others. What is more, the students of this talented leader represent a variety of nationalities: Dargins, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Lezgins, and Tabasarans. The director himself is Kumyk. They are united by their mutual exactingness and respect for one another.

Or take this example. Recently our press has been readily carrying reports about the plans and achievements of Ye. Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel party obkom, and N. Vorobyev, first secretary of the Pytalovskiy CPSU Raykom in Pskov Oblast. What do these leaders have in common? The main thing, perhaps, is their keen sense of responsibility for breathing new life into rural areas and improving the food supply situation. Hence their innovative actions and decisions and their real need to constantly consult with ordinary working people and economic specialists. This change in leadership style contributes to the rejection of administrative-edict willfulness and to the strengthening of party influence methods. Communists are learning not to give orders but to persuade people, storing up the experience they accumulate. That is why the transition to new economic relations is being made purposefully but without pressure in the above regions.

The vanguard role of the leader is characterized by unity of word and action and an enterprising search for solutions. Great landmarks cannot be achieved on one's own or through the efforts of a narrow circle of assistants. Only real, living ties with the masses and an awareness of their needs and attitudes can give leaders a wealth of collective sense and a sensitivity to all things new. A most important condition of proper leadership is the ability to heed the voice of opponents and to arm oneself with forward-looking ideas and advice.

Unfortunately, some have yet to acquire this art. The editorial mailbag contains a fair number of letters from people who still complain of the callous, uncaring attitude of some officials and administrators. The habit of "giving orders" and "not allowing" is too firmly rooted in them. These apologies for leaders usually present their opinions as the gospel truth and accuse those who hold opposing views of encroaching on their own authority or, even worse, of undermining the foundations of Soviet power.

"There have been enormous improvements in our region in the last 2 years," A. Gonchar, an electric welder from the settlement of Kozelshchin in Poltava Oblast, said in a letter. "But the principle of social justice is still often violated. A tense moral and psychological atmosphere is created as a result.... I have mentioned this to the bosses on more than one occasion—and fallen very much out of favor. I am called a 'tittle-tattler and a demagogue.' But all I want to do is work honestly and put the mistakes right together with those same raykom and rayispolkom workers. Why should a soldier of restructuring be pushed to the sidelines?"

Despite precedents like these, ultimately it is those who are opposed to the consolidation of creative forces and who are not prepared to accept socialist pluralism of opinion as a perfectly natural, normal phenomenon of the times who will find themselves standing on the sidelines. Labor collectives and party organizations are doing battle with increasing boldness with conservatives and cunning people who "play safe"—by nominating honest working people of principle to responsible positions.

Today's leader has a heavy burden to bear. In order to comply fully with the level and spirit of the demands made on him, he is obliged to be a model of purposefulness, efficiency, and no compromise toward any violation of the norms of legality and morality. But even this is not enough. The tasks set by the party with regard to political and economic reform and the creation of a rule-of-law state cannot possibly be solved without thoroughly educated, erudite workers. One feels it is no accident that, when answering one particular questionnaire, S. Potapov, secretary of the Moscow Volgogradskiy CPSU Raykom, named high spiritual and political standards as an inalienable feature of a good leader. In his opinion, these are the only people who can successfully resolve the tasks of restructuring. They are trusted by the collectives and followed by the people.

Social Scientists Discuss Restructuring

PM3101133089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Socialism: The Restructuring Model"]

[Text] "A New Face for Socialism Via Restructuring"—that is the theme of the all-union scientific and practical conference which opened 25 January at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Philosophers, lawyers, economists, and representatives of other sciences are discussing a wide range of topical problems of the theory and practice of world socialism.

The democratization of all aspects of life, which has given the broad masses access to active involvement in policymaking, now demands of the social sciences a literally up-to-the-minute analysis of the complex process of renewal of the country's economic and spiritual life. But the social scientists' main task, it was stressed at the conference, is not only to record these phenomena, as was the practice in the past, but to analyze their significance and whether they actually coincide with the restructuring tasks. Only then, the scientists said, will a real model of a renewal of society capable of self-regulation, self-renewal, and adaptation to changing conditions be created and start operating at full power.

The conference was addressed by prominent scientists representing the entire spectrum of the social sciences—from philosophy to ethnography. The different methods these sciences commonly use to analyze the social process did not prevent their representatives from formulating a common methodology for the study and evaluation of changes in the country's economic and spiritual life.

On 26 January the conference participants will continue their work in sections. The topics for discussion include questions of the history of Soviet society and the history of the CPSU, various aspects of the reform of the political system in the USSR, methodological problems of the Soviet economy, the improvement of interethnic relations, the role of spiritual culture in restructuring, and the influence of new political thinking on the world community.

Economic

Council of Ministers Issues Decision on Price Policy

LD0302095589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0857 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Feb (TASS)—A decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, published here today, provides for a number of measures to stabilize prices of consumer and producer goods. The decision came about because numerous enterprises have made use of their expanded rights to improve their financial position not by raising quality or improving consumer features of their own output but by establishing excessive prices for their output. The government decision aims precisely at removing these faults in the pricing policies. In particular, the decision deems it essential to set up a unified nationwide system of price controls. This work has been entrusted to the USSR State Committee for Prices.

To overcome the practice of an unwarranted reduction of the proportion of cheap goods within the range of light industry output, it was decided to include the tasks for producing them in state orders. Enterprises and trade are forbidden to increase prices on goods if their consumer features have undergone insignificant changes and also to set increased contractual or provisional prices on goods for children and the elderly. It was decided that seasonal increases for new or fashionable goods should not exceed 15 percent.

The government also deemed it impermissible to increase contractual prices—prices set by agreement between the supplier and consumer—on producer and technical goods. This is particularly the case if enterprises producing such output have a monopolistic position in the given area.

One of the chapters of the document pertains to cooperatives: They, in particular, have been allowed, as of now, to purchase, on the basis of cashless transactions, food and other goods from state wholesale depots on the condition, however, that articles produced on such basis should be sold for prices set for the state trade sector.

Maslyukov Says Downward Economic Trend 'Overcome'

LD0202151789 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] The chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee, Yuriy Maslyukov, writes in the latest issue of the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK that the downward trend in Soviet economic growth has been overcome. The national income in 1988 rose by 4.4 percent compared with a 3.2 percent average in the first 2 years of the current 5-year period. Plans for building housing, kindergartens, and hospitals are being currently exceeded. A considerable increase in food and consumer goods production is expected. Some of the defense production capacities are being converted for civilian purposes.

Figures Show 'Positive' Economic Change

PM0302095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by M. Korolev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics: "Does Statistical Science Know?: 'Yes,' the Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics Replies"]

[Text] A fundamental restructuring of all spheres of society's life is taking place in the country. The new economic mechanism, new models of the distribution of the fruits of labor, and normatives are being adjusted, administrative authorities are being overturned, and democracy is strengthening in labor collectives.

Clearly in these conditions not everything runs smoothly. The economic reform itself has still not gathered the necessary momentum and has not embraced the entire system. Questions of price formation, non-stock supply, and territorial-sectoral organizational relations remain unresolved. Is that not one of the main reasons why all that has been conceived and planned on a number of major indicators has not been fully implemented? In the past 3 years there has been a national income shortfall of R25.4 billion against the 5-year plan target, including R13.3 billion in 1988.

Nevertheless, despite the comparatively short time and the difficulties of the period of reorganization, **definite positive changes providing evidence of a breakthrough in previously noted development trends and the beginning of economic improvement have taken place** under the influence of the transition to the new economic methods of management in the national economy. This is confirmed primarily by the main macroeconomic indicators of the dynamics and efficiency of social production.

GNP, which is accepted throughout the world as the most important indicator of economic growth, increased by 5 percent in 1988 and by almost R90 billion or 13.3 percent in comparison with 1985.

National income—assets newly created by material production—increased by 4.4 percent over the year and by 11.1 percent compared with the last year of the 11th 5-Year Plan. The decline in the average annual growth rate for this indicator, a most important one for assessing the state and dynamism of the economy, was also halted.

All these figures were produced, as usual, on the basis of the volumes evaluated in fixed comparable prices, that is, by eliminating the effect of price changes as much as possible.

However, the assessment of economic development on the basis of both GNP and national income has the shortcoming that their significance is definitely influenced by factors of a redistributive character, which distort the picture of real changes in the material production sphere. The nature of this situation is hidden more in the deformation of price proportions and not in a methodological defect in these indicators. In previous years their growth was largely achieved by increasing turnover tax, via prices on alcoholic drinks, and gross revenue from oil in connection with favorable world conditions.

The objective assessment of the actual development of the course of the process of expanded reproduction requires the elimination of the influence of such factors. In the thorough study of the processes and phenomena in the Soviet economy, especially its production sphere, the USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat], and the USSR Academy of Sciences used the indicator of the actual net output of enterprises in the material production sphere—an indicator which reflects that part of national income produced directly at those enterprises by the labor of their collectives and which, consequently, is an objective indication of what is really happening in production.

For example, whereas in the 9th 5-Year Plan, the average annual growth of the net output of material production enterprises was 5.4 percent, falling to 3.4 percent in the 10th 5-Year Plan and 3 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan, in 1986-1988 it proved possible not only to halt this decline process but also to increase volumes to 4.7 percent. This is a fundamentally important feature which characterizes the **real positive changes in the main element of our economy—production.**

Incidentally, a number of foreign experts, including the U.S. CIA, which used their own methods to analyze the dynamics of the USSR's macroeconomic indicators during the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans, acknowledged the existence of a more dynamic growth in the Soviet economy in recent years. Thus, the claims of some Soviet authors that our growth rates are substantially lower than the official figures were refuted, as was their conclusion that there has been no breakthrough in the development of our economy, which has not emerged from its state of stagnation.

The more intensive development of the economy in recent years is confirmed by the increase in the production of output in physical terms, too.

The average annual harvests increased in 1986-88 by 25 million tonnes for grain, or 14 percent compared with the last 5-year plan; 9.5 million tonnes for sugar beets, or 13 percent; and 0.9 million tonnes for sunflower seed, or 18 percent. Average annual meat production exceeded the 11th 5-Year Plan level by 16 percent, milk by 10 percent, and eggs by 11 percent; per capita consumption of livestock products also increased: Meat consumption went up by 8.5 percent, milk consumption rose 9.6 percent, and egg consumption increased 6.7 percent.

The average absolute annual increases in the volumes of industrial production during the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan compared with the average annual increases in the 11th 5-Year Plan were appreciably higher for electricity generation and the production of finished rolled metal, chemical fibers, computer equipment, and other types of output.

It is important that the **move by the economy to an intensive development path** has begun.

Higher labor productivity has been achieved in all the main sectors of the national economy. The entire growth in national income, industrial and agricultural output, and transport services was due to this factor.

In those years it proved possible to sharply reduce the fall in capital yield, which was equivalent to around R11 billion in national income.

The reduction in the materials-intensiveness of the social product by economizing on the objects of labor produced over R9 billion in extra national income. The reduction of the energy intensiveness of net output satisfied an extra 54 percent demand for fuel and energy (against 22 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan). The use of secondary resources and waste products in the national economy has expanded. The use of commodities and materials has improved somewhat.

As a result of resource saving and other economical management measures the reduction of the prime cost of industrial production increased and there have been more tangible savings from this source: In the last 5-year plan costs per ruble of output fell on average 0.3 percent a year and in this year by 0.8 percent, in other words, during the first 3 years of this 5-year plan there has been a saving from the reduction of prime costs considerably exceeding that achieved in the whole of the previous 5-year plan. In 1985 the saving from the reduction of the prime cost of output amounted to R2 billion, whereas in 1988 that figure is over R5 billion.

The social thrust of economic development has become clearly marked, especially in last year.

The redirection of a considerable proportion of capital investments to the development of the social sphere and the use by labor collectives of the new opportunities derived from channeling earned resources into it have made it possible to increase the scale of nonproduction construction in recent years to 9.7 percent or twice the 11th 5-Year Plan figure. The rate of commissioning of housing and social and cultural facilities has increased. For example, the average annual commissioning of housing has now reached almost 127 million square meters or 15 percent more than in the previous 5-year plan.

Major measures have been undertaken in the sphere of labor remuneration and pension provision. There has been an increase in the resources channeled into developing health care, improving living conditions for orphans and war and labor veterans, and other social needs. The population's money incomes rose by 8.5 percent in 1988 alone and by 16.7 percent during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan as a whole.

As a result there has been a considerable increase in the population's demand for goods and services. But despite an increase in the production of consumer goods (average annual production was R50 billion or 18 percent higher than the previous 5-year plan) and supplies of food products and nonfood goods to the trade system (the average annual increase here was 17 percent higher than the previous 5-year plan), it was not possible to fully satisfy the sharply increased effective demand.

The position regarding commodity supply and the population's demand has been further aggravated recently by a reduction in imports of consumer goods as well as by the removal of a considerable amount of wine and alcohol products from existing stocks. Industry and trade were unprepared for work in the new market conditions. The commodity resources taken from circulation were not fully compensated for by an increase in the production and sale of other industrial and food goods and paid services.

In the past 3 years industry has had a considerable shortfall in the number of television sets, radios, tape recorders, sewing machines, washing machines, motor cycles and scooters, and bicycles, in the quantity of knitwear, in fabrics of all kinds to the tune of tens of millions of square meters, and in many types of footwear. Supplies of consumer goods to trade were down by R43 billion in comparison with the plan target.

All this, together with an increase in the population's money incomes (twice the plan target) poorly linked to end results, has considerably aggravated the situation in the consumer market.

Of course, had the plans been fully implemented the overall picture of the process of economic renewal now underway would have been far more marked.

But even without that there is no reason for the panic being spread by some press writers. The situation may be complex but it is entirely manageable and can be rectified in a well planned way in the near future. To achieve that the population's money incomes must be brought into line with the real contribution to the general cause: Labor remuneration must be commensurate with labor productivity, spending by enterprises and the state must match their incomes, and all irrational and time-wasting activity (unnecessary construction, the production of unneeded and unwanted output, unprofitable production, and so forth), nonproduction expenditure, losses, and embezzlement must be drastically reduced.

In this connection, too, all unofficial estimates and other "alternative assessments" of the state and development of our economy distort the true picture and confuse readers. Even the authors of the CIA report "A New View of the Soviet Economy in the Period of Glasnost" (September 1988), which was reviewed in the Western press, were forced to add that the "alternative assessments of overall economic growth presented by these critics seem, in our view, unrealistically low."

As this report points out, these critics made their assessments on the basis of allegedly unreliable initial data on physical volumes and a disregard of inflation in prime cost results.

The report concedes: "Detailed Western studies of the quality of data in physical terms shows that the amount of distortion here is not great and has not been increasing. Furthermore, the same critics of the official statistics, complaining of these distortions, used natural indicators in their alternative assessments."

It is common knowledge that a consistent struggle against distortion of figures has been waged in our country. One effective means of combating that negative phenomenon to improve the quality of accounting is the broad coverage of all the cases of distortion of figures in the press which have apparently served as the pretext for claims that accounting data are unreliable.

The report paid considerable attention to exposing the underestimate of inflation in the USSR's summaries of statistical indicators. Consequently the authors note that possible distortions due to the underestimation of inflation have virtually no effect on the accuracy of summary indicators in the production sphere. At the same time they conclude that "prices distort the real structure of production and present a quite erroneous picture of how resources are eventually allocated.... Prices for agricultural products and consumer services are set too low, which reduces their proportion in annual production and exaggerates the volumes of the processing sectors." Finally they come to the conclusion: "In no instance was this due to the falsification of statistical data: rather, the distortions occur in the system itself" (the price formation system—M.K. note).

To that it should be added that in Soviet statistics' calculation of the dynamics of generalizing indicators they are always reassessed in comparable (fixed) prices so as to exclude the effect on them of wholesale prices, prices for construction services, and rates for services. At enterprise level natural and commodity indicators are constantly recalculated in comparable prices. These statistics are generalized by the state statistical organs for each sector and used when calculating the volume of macroeconomic indicators in comparable prices.

The methodology of calculating price indices generally corresponds to international practice and serves to show the effect on the general level of prices and the price changes for certain goods—changes carried out by law. Under this method there is a certain underestimation of hidden inflation connected with the deletion of the cheap range of goods and also with the fact that the rise in list prices does not always correspond to changes in output quality.

The USSR Goskomstat also studies the dynamics of average retail and wholesale prices for goods which are stockpiled because of changes in both list prices and the structure of production and sales as well as the quality of goods. The task of keeping direct account of the change in the quality of goods in the price index is complex and has not been resolved for that reason in foreign statistics either, and many countries have resisted attempts to make the appropriate adjustments to the price index.

At the same time we have not made proper use of such indicators as price indices for consumer goods and services, indices of the cost of living and the purchasing power of the ruble, or deflators, which are widely used in a number of countries' statistics. On the government's instructions, the USSR Goskomstat is currently cooperating with other economic organs and scientific institutions in the elaboration of a method of calculating those indicators so as to introduce them into the practice of economic calculations in the near future.

Some economists and publicists propose that the dynamics of economic development be calculated not on the basis of prime costs but using natural indicators based on a restricted range of representative goods. It is clear that under this approach much will depend on the subjective choice of those goods.

Of course, all methods of accounting based on expert evaluations, arbitrary choices, and other artificial constructs are not sufficiently well founded and cannot replace the continuous statistical accounting used in our country.

The methods of calculating generalizing indicators used by our statistical service are developed collectively with other economic organizations and scientific institutions and are well known to the broad public. In recent years the country's statistical methodology has been making increasing use of international standards and classifications, which helps to ensure greater comparability among countries. We welcome all constructive suggestions aimed at improving statistical methodology. But I would like to draw the attention of the authors of the "alternative assessments" to the absence of proposals on their part and a clear desire to sensationalize their calculations without publicizing their methodology. Nor have the authors of these assessments provided any concrete or thoroughly considered proposals on improving matters in our economy.

We statisticians soberly evaluate the state of our economy, we know its shortcomings, and we talk openly about the shortcomings. The most important thing is that definite positive changes in the national economy are clearly visible. In the near future they will influence our commodity market.

Economist Interviewed on 'Negative Trends'

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["First part" of interview with economist Nikolay Shmelov by unidentified correspondent; date and place not specified—Shmelov remarks recorded, in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] In mid-January, at a session held by the Council of Ministers, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said that last year certain negative trends in the economy continued to build up. Particularly painful problems were the budget deficit, inflationary tendencies, and demand for consumer goods exceeding supply. At our request, prominent Soviet economist and publicist Professor Nikolay Shmelov comments on these problems. There are many economists and government officials who would decline to share his views. Our first question addressed to Nikolay Shmelov was this: Last year this country scored some economic gains such as greater rates of the national income growth—what accounted for them?

[Shmelov] So far, only the potential for success is emerging. I think that the slightly more than 3 percent increase in the national revenues is largely due to the use of new economic levers, such as self-financing and greater economic independence enjoyed by plants and factories. [end recording]

[Announcer] Could the increase in the national income have been greater?

[Shmelov] I hold somewhat unorthodox, maybe radical, views. I'm not sure that in the next few years we need an increase in industrial output, except in the high technology industries, which make up a small section of our economy. What we do need, in order to raise the quality of our products and make our market more balanced, is a decrease in production, not an increase in the gross national product. We produced 800 million pairs of footwear annually. We must produce less, but of a quality that would make it possible to buy them all, not leave them rotting in the warehouses. So, the signs of improvement, in my view, are signs of better quality and sometimes they are not reflected in numbers.

[Announcer] Economic problems are something that cannot disappear overnight. Some economists see the major problem in the budget deficit. In 1989 it is expected to make up R35 billion, with the national debts amounting to 100 billion. Do you consider the budget deficit as the most pressing problem of the Soviet economy? Here's how Nikolay Shmelov answered this question.

[Shmelov] This is a very serious problem indeed. It mirrors other setbacks and errors. Budget deficits might pave the way for runaway inflation, unless we get rid of it in the next couple of years. We always had insignificant inflation, 2 or 3 percent. The main reason why it has aggravated is the faulty practice of artificially raising purchasing prices for the produce of unprofitable farm cooperatives and state farms. These price infusions are almost equivalent to the subsidies granted by the state to maintain low food prices. Another big mistake was in the methods of conducting the antialcohol campaign. It made a gigantic breach in the budget and at the same time threw on the market a gigantic additional quantity of money obtained by the illegal brewers of alcoholic drinks.

[Announcer] In what way is it possible to reduce the budget deficit?

[Shmelov responded] We must try to curb our grain imports in order to reduce the budget deficit. It is also necessary to reduce the imports of machinery and equipment, particularly for heavy industry. When oil prices fell, we had to curtail our imports, but we cut imports in the wrong area, in the area of consumer goods, which are the most effective and profitable commodity in terms of budget.

[Announcer] Maybe we can save funds by giving up gigantic projects, whose effectiveness is questionable.

[Shmelov] Yes, indeed, the Ministry of Water Resources wastes a lot of money, some R11 billion, on building new hydroelectric power plants. All these projects ought to be postponed for at least 50 years, if not forever. A lot of money can be saved by cutting spending on the maintenance of the managerial apparatus, law enforcement and the army. Arms and troop reductions announced on 7th December last year are the right way to reduce government spending and they've pleased me enormously.

[Announcer] That was the first part of our interview with Professor Nikolay Shmelov, a prominent Soviet economist, on the urgent tasks faced by the Soviet economy. We invite you to listen to the final part of this interview tomorrow at the same time.

Ligachev, Others Tour Machine Building Enterprises

PM0202154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Modern Equipment for Food Industry Enterprises"]

[Text] A considerable role in the solution of the food question belongs to the retooling of food industry enterprises. The implementation of this key economic and political task has been entrusted to the country's entire machine building complex, while the development of complex types of equipment has, by decision of the party and the government, been entrusted to defense industry sector ministries.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building and USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry 30 January. A thorough analysis was made of the progress in implementing CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the creation of modern manufacturing equipment for agro-industrial complex food and processing sectors.

L.D. Ryabev, USSR minister of medium machine building, reported that the ministry has embarked on retooling the country's dairy industry and is tackling this task by taking charge of the whole process from designing enterprises and equipment right up to handing over "turnkey" projects. Leading scientific, planning, technological, and design organizations are involved in this large-scale work. They have been set the task of providing milk-processing enterprises as from 1991 with all the modern equipment they need.

I.V. Koksanov, USSR minister of the shipbuilding industry, reported that his ministry is the leading ministry in developing and starting up series production of equipment for the mixed feed industry and for such major sectors of the food industry as the flour- and groat-milling industry, and the meat, fish, bread, and tea industry. A leading scientific research organizations has been set up and the development of the appropriate systems of machines is under way.

Ministers L.D. Ryabev and I.V. Koksanov reported on the progress in meeting food and processing sector equipment production targets in 1988, gave an account of plans for 1989, and noted that enterprise collectives regard the technical retooling of the sectors connected with food production as their very own cause.

Summing up the results of an examination of the prevailing situation at the ministries, Ye.K. Ligachev, O.D. Baklanov, and I.S. Belousov emphasized the importance of the active participation of all the country's machine building ministries in the creation of a modern manufacturing base for the food industry. Approval was expressed for the responsible and comprehensive approach of the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building to the solution of the task set by the party and the government—the creation of a range of new-generation machines for the country's entire dairy industry—and the work carried out in this sphere by the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry for other food sectors was noted.

It was stressed that it is necessary to start up the series production of equipment of the highest world standard, to focus sectors' intellectual and technical resources on this, and make active use of available international and Soviet experience. It was noted that it is impermissible to produce machines of obsolete design. Ministries' efforts to organize the technical servicing of the equipment they produce and its installation by their own personnel were supported. Special attention was drawn to the establishment of integrated teams of designers and technologists to develop modern equipment.

It was pointed out that more attention should be paid to the standard of manufacturing equipment of the machine building enterprises, the priority solution of social tasks, and the creation of stable labor collectives.

At the Ministry of Medium Machine Building the guests were acquainted with models of modular enterprises for the primary processing of milk at livestock units and the production of cheese, and also an urban dairy with a processing capacity of 10 tonnes of milk per shift which is intended for rayon centers with a population of up to 20,000.

Taking part in the discussion were O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department; L.B. Vasilyev, USSR minister; G.S. Ogryzkin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; V.V. Markov, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; A.P. Lyapchenkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; and USSR ministry and department leaders and specialists.

Economists Abalkin, Galbraith Debate Restructuring

PM0202142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed "abbreviated transcript" of "dialogue" between U.S. economist J.K. Galbraith and Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, at an international colloquium held in Luxembourg last December by the "Luxembourg-Harvard" Association: "We Need To Broaden Cooperation"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A conversation took place last December between Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and prominent U.S. economist, Nobel Prizewinner, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, from Harvard, during an international colloquium organized and conducted in Luxembourg by the "Luxembourg-Harvard" Association. We offer the reader an abbreviated transcript of it. Problems in relations between the Western community and the USSR in connection with the processes brought to life by restructuring were the main theme of the colloquium. The topicality and acuteness of the topic relieved moderator Doctor Ed Hewett from the Brookings Institute of the need to ask the first question and so, having introduced the interlocutors to the colloquium participants, he gave Professor Galbraith the floor without preamble.

Galbraith: We have quite a new topic of discussion—the changes and reforms in the socialist world. Reforms that we in the West, in all intellectual circles, would like to see succeed. That is why I am broaching the first question that I would like to discuss: What steps can we take to ensure the success of these efforts that are so extremely important for mankind's peace and tranquillity? I think that we all realize that world peace depends on the achievements of both the nonsocialist and also the socialist world, and this in turn presupposes mutual aid between them. Particularly with a view to ensuring greater success in restructuring.

Abalkin: How can you help our restructuring? You are already helping us: The Soviet people can now imagine the existence of an economy where the market is saturated with all the essential commodities. Ranging from food products to contemporary electronic goods and from automobiles to housing. The very fact that such an economy can exist today rather than at some time in the far distant future provides an incentive for restructuring. The essence of this restructuring lies in the wealth of world experience, which we are now willing to welcome, and all of whose best elements we would like to imitate.

Of course, we would like to receive goods from the West which can produce a direct effect in improving the Soviet people's life. We would like to obtain equipment and the latest technology and study the experience of management and production organization. In this context we can be a vast market for Western entrepreneurs. It is important to enter this market opportunely so as not to be late. This is very important both for us and for you.

In this connection the following question is assuming particular acuteness: What is your opinion of our restructuring and the prospects for the development of the trends associated with it in the USSR?

Galbraith: First, I must say how greatly delighted I was to receive recently an honorary doctorate from Moscow State University. If I had received that title 30 years ago, I would have been interrogated in the U.S. Congress as to why I had sacrificed my patriotism to please the forces of evil. I met with great approval this time on my return home. Thus the world is improving, and I would very much like to see European countries and the United States taking steps to impart the atmosphere for rapid changes to the USSR and thus helping restructuring succeed. I think that it has long been time to repeal the Jackson-Vanik restrictions in the United States. The USSR must be accorded most-favored-nation status.

But, on the other hand, the Western viewpoint regarding the success of restructuring is a mixture of hope and understanding of the real difficulties. I personally believe that power was held by a broadly developed bureaucratic apparatus in the USSR. Power similar to that wielded, for instance, by the Pentagon in the United States. I think that the structure which gave such power to a ministerial bureaucratic apparatus in the USSR for a long time will be the greatest obstacle to restructuring.

Abalkin: We have many difficulties, but the problem you mentioned concerning the power of the bureaucratic apparatus is one of the most complex. Its economic foundations, in our opinion, can be found above all in the alienation of the direct producer and the working class from property, which our people in effect regarded as "no man's land." If it is not the labor collective and the working class that owns it, then who does? He who has real power to control this property. This power is in the hands of an extremely large bureaucratic apparatus. If labor collectives, cooperatives, and regional associations are not given control of this property, we will never be able to smash and destroy the bureaucracy. We intend to act resolutely to remove these deformations and create a dynamic and developed economy which, we hope, will be efficient.

Galbraith: For much of my life I was Harvard's only leading economist without any academic rank in economics apart from agricultural economics, from when I previously specialized in livestock farming. I personally believe that the most successful agricultural structure is based on the individual worker when he exploits his labor and that of his family to the utmost. For some curious reason he is happy with this. That is the system that we in the United States practically idolize and extol as the family farm.

However, one question troubles me. How can the regularized life of the Soviet Union's kolkhozes or sovkhozes be disturbed by the introduction of long-term leasing, where the farmer will bear this unusual responsibility, exhausting himself and his family by working from sunrise to sunset? How can this be introduced after more than 50 years of relatively calm, though less productive life? Won't your fellow Russian citizens prefer nonetheless the easier life and reject the proposals for long-term leasing linked with self-exploitation.

Abalkin: The kolkhoz and sovkhoz system has existed for several decades in our country, but in the 72d year of Soviet power we are faced with a food problem. You don't have to be a great specialist to agree that a system that has been unable to resolve this problem after so many years is in need of radical improvement. One way is to lease the land.

But the problem you have raised is very significant. This summer I visited an impressive kolkhoz in Chernigov Oblast. The oblast itself is quite successful—it produces 191kg of meat per capita. The kolkhoz chairman is a well-known person. He came to Moscow to listen to reports on land-leasing and then returned home and said that it was necessary to transfer to the lease. But the kolkhoz workers did not agree with him, claiming that this system would not work for them, even though it might perhaps be effective in the Western Ukraine where there is a different production structure and different historical traditions.

I think that we must give people the right to choose. You can't chase them out of kolkhozes with a stick when you chased them in before, using the same stick. Freedom of choice must be acknowledged in everything.

Our greatest danger is the eternal desire to regulate everything from Moscow irrespective of the features of the Baltic or Uzbekistan, Siberia, or the Ukraine. Different approaches are needed for and within the different regions. The survival of the fittest will only come through real, serious rivalry. People who choose the optimum path in terms of competitiveness. And not only in agriculture, you realize.

Hewett: I would like to change the topic of conversation and ask Academician Abalkin about the role of economists in this great reform that you are now carrying out in the USSR. We—at least in the West—have often regarded the economy as too serious a sphere to entrust to economists. I think the same happened in the Soviet Union. Is the role of economists changing in the USSR? Do Soviet economists feel that their opinions are being heeded?

Abalkin: Everyone considers their profession to be the main profession. That is why, as an economist, I say the following: Economists are the most important people in the world. And in restructuring also. Has our position changed? That depends on your stance—whether you're taking yesterday's view or tomorrow's. If you take yesterday's view, the situation has changed radically. People listen to our recommendations, consult with us, and involve scientist economists in elaborating specific problems. Our work has become more difficult and our responsibility has increased. It is one thing to simply write an article and quite another if laws are ratified on the basis of your recommendations.

But if you compare our situation with tomorrow, we're dissatisfied. Economists complain that people don't listen to them properly and that the Gosplan and other organizations adopt decisions without scientific recommendations. In short, our position is considerably better than yesterday. We can breathe freely and work better, but this is insufficient in comparison with what we want from the vantage point of tomorrow, and we are not satisfied.

Hewett: Mr Galbraith, can you say that the position and role of economists in the United States is comparable to their position in the Soviet Union?

Galbraith: Ultimately, there are more graduate economists, whose opinions the government can heed in elaborating its economic policy, as a result of economic growth and increases in the number of educational establishments as new institutions like the Brookings Institute, for instance, appear. But I would like to say that there should be a larger number of economists engaged in the mathematical and technical aspects, while avoiding discussion of policy proper. This would enable those involved in social policy to have a voice that would be heard. If all U.S. economists talked about social policy, our position would be hopeless. As the number of USSR economists increases, I would recommend that their debates be directed into the appropriate concrete vocational channel.

I remember that many years ago, during my first visit to the USSR in the late fifties, when everything seemed to be going well, a prominent Soviet economist told me and my American colleagues: "You realize that we are about to catch you up?" I said: "You won't be able to do that. " He replied: "You underestimate us." To which I said: "Look at the streets of Moscow, the broadest in the world. You endanger your life now when you cross them. Do you realize what these streets would look like if you had as many automobiles per capita as there are in New York? What would the air be like in your country? How many people would be needed to service the automobiles?" All that he found to reply was: "We aim to catch you up in everything apart from automobiles..."

I would like to point out the following. We take as read the fact that any country's economic success is measured in terms of the variety of goods and services that are commonplace for the middle-class bourgeoisie—be it in New York, London, Paris, or Luxembourg. These are standards that I believe are very difficult to achieve in a socialist economy given the tremendous variety of consumer requirements and the social security that is usual in socialist countries. Why not think of a different structure for life in the USSR, with a less complex range of goods?

Abalkin: Talking about the fifties and the tasks that were set then of outstripping the United States, one can of course acknowledge that we have indeed caught up with and overtaken the United States in steel, oil, and tractor production... But we have not become any the happier as a result of this.

I have thought a great deal about the questions you have raised. How can society combine a high consumption level with man's spiritual and moral values? How can one retain the great achievements of culture, morality, and good in pursuit of material benefits? I think about ecological problems to an equal extent. Because it is clear that people are not always happy even when there are many automobiles on the streets and the stores are full of goods. I am not claiming that an abundance of goods is an obstacle. But nonetheless this is clearly insufficient to make people happy. Man must be given a purpose to his life and confidence in tomorrow and in his children's happiness... These are very profound ideas.

The standards of the "consumer society" are by no means an ideal. It is time to think about preserving spiritual culture and moral values and about developing human contacts and historical destiny.

Hewett: We have taken a brief look at the past, but I would like to ask Academician Abalkin the following question: What will the USSR be like, say, in the year 2010? How will the socialism of the future differ from the socialism of today?

Abalkin: By the year 2010 I think that a qualitatively new economic structure will have taken shape. We hope to stop grain imports. I hope that we will also be able to change the export structure. We will rely mainly on the output of the processing industry rather than on the export of raw material goods. The machine building complex will have to be radically updated and its output rendered competitive on the world market in order to achieve this. We will have a well-developed consumer goods economy and a quite different infrastructure and service sphere. We must transfer approximately 15-16 million people from the production sphere to the services sphere by approximately 2005. We hope by that time to have resolved our financial problems and have introduced ruble convertibility. A socialist market system will have taken shape. The proportion of the cooperative sector in industry and trade will amount to something in the order of 10-15 and approximately 50 percent respectively and up to 100 percent in some other areas. A well-developed balanced market for consumer goods and means of production will have been created.

I hope that this will be a socially and spiritually renewed society.

If this has not happened by 2010, it means that our generation will not fulfill its historic tasks to future generations. We must do this. We have no other way out.

I have possibly drawn too optimistic a picture. Our development will not go swimmingly. Zigzags are possible and difficulties and even conflicts are inevitable. When we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum—and that will be in 2010 precisely—we will sum up the results and say: A great deal has been done, but it is not enough. A desire for greater and better things and constant dissatisfaction are in our nature.

Galbraith: I would like to add one thing: Those of us who wish restructuring success can be inspired by what we have heard here.

Amur Party Obkom First Secretary on BAM Future

OW0202131189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Jan 89

[V. Kovalchuk video report; from the Vremya Newscast]

[Text] A public center for defending the development of the Baykal Amur Main Railroad [BAM] region has been established in Tynda.

[Kovalchuk] The very name of this informal organization, set up at the initiative of the BAM public, reflects the essence of its program—to preserve the integral unity of the more than 3,000-kilometer-long railroad together with its cities and settlements and to promote the most rapid development of the natural wealth and the productive forces of Siberia and the Far East.

Unfortunately, the period of stagnation also left its negative mark on the BAM. Manifestations of this were particularly tangible in the lack of attention to creating proper living conditions for people, although it is true the situation in this regard is now improving. On the other hand, many ministries and departments have still not shown interest in the economic development of the BAM zone, although this is envisaged by the long-term state Far East program.

Now, at this responsible moment of decisionmaking and action, on the eve of the commissioning of the BAM for permanent operations along its entire length, the Ministry of Railways, quite unexpectedly for the BAM people themselves, has raised the question of possibly disbanding the BAM, because it is unprofitable, and transferring it in sections to other railroad administrations. [Video shows unidentified man speaking to correspondent]

[Begin recording of unidentified man] This decision is politically wrong. It gives rise to feelings of alarm, resentment, and bewilderment among BAM youth. [end recording]

Just how acutely the fate of the BAM concerns people is shown by the fact that in the very first week after publication in the Tynda AVANGARD newspaper of the appeal of the initiative group of the public center to the people of the region, the editorial office received some 10,000 responses. Other oblast and kray newspapers do not get that much mail even in a year. [Video shows several people handling piles of mail on a table, then cuts to show L.V. Sharin, Amur party Obkom first secretary, speaking to a correspondent in an office]

[Begin Sharin recording] People are involved in this construction project. Their involvement was demonstrated once again at conferences, both at the Tynda city party accountability and election conference and at the Amur Oblast conference, where all the delegates supported it. They also discussed the issue and there was a very sharp discussion of it at the conference, and a decision was adopted noting that the Ministry of Railways decision to disband the BAM was not correct.

Today, a collective of many thousands representing many nationalities has been established in the railroad's zone. It has its own traditions and has adapted itself, so to speak, to the most severe climatic conditions of this zone. This collective now comprises families, and it has created all the life on the BAM starting from nothing. The leadership of the railroad, which they elected themselves—it is a basically a young leadership—the leaders of party, economic, and public organizations, live with a single idea and a single task. This is why this is an important political issue. [end recording]

Scientific

'Mriya' Aircraft Completes First Stage of Tests

LD0102235189 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev February 1 TASS—The world's largest transport aircraft AN-225 Mriya (Dream) flew on its 22nd mission on Wednesday at Borispol Airport in the Ukrainian capital, watched by foreign journalists from eleven countries and their Soviet colleagues. The flight was organised by the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Oleg Antonov Design Bureau.

Chief designer Petr Balabuyev told journalists at a news conference that the mission marked the end of the first stage of flight tests of the jumbo airliner. All its systems and mechanisms, electronic systems and various modes of operation were checked. The crew had nothing to criticize the designers for. In the future the aircraft will be tested with various loads, checked for range and fuel efficiency. Petr Balabuyev is convinced that Mriya will be able to transport cargoes already after six months.

Replying to the correspondent's questions, the chief designer said the new aircraft had a take-off weight of 600 tons, or 50 percent more than its predecessor AN-124 Ruslan. Mriya is capable of hauling 250 tons in one flight. Its cargo bay can accommodate 60-80 passenger cars of medium class or a column of trucks. There are special suspensions and fastenings for carrying large-size structures on the aircraft's fuselage.

The correspondents were impressed by the streamlined forms of the aircraft despite its bulky size, the short take-off run and easy take-off.

'Mir' Crew Carries Out Astrophysical Studies

LD0302101889 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The crew of a Mir Soviet orbiting space station carried out a series of astrophysical studies with the help of the Roentgen orbital observatory and the Maria magnetic spectrometer, as well as geophysical and medicobiological expriments this week.

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov also prepared for work new highly sensitive equipment for determining the value and nature of microaccelerations emerging during the flight and dynamic characteristics of the space station's design.

The cosmonauts are completing the unloading of a Progress-39 cargo ship and loading it with used equipment. Cargos brought to the station by the unmanned craft are placed in the basic and astrophysical modules.

Simultaneously, the fuel tanks of the station's power unit are refuelled and filled with oxidizer. These operations are carried out on command of onboard equipment and controlled by the crew.

Today, the cosmonauts are to conduct a series of observations of a roentgen pulsar in the Vela constellation under a "roentgen" international astrophysical research programme.

According to physician Polyakov and results of medical checkups, the cosmonauts are feeling well.

'Buran' Designer Cited on Structure, Reusability

LD0302055289 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The structural features of the Soviet planetary rocket Energiya are such that the payload it is capable of orbiting can be increased to 200 tonnes. This was stated in a lecture in Moscow by Dr Boris Guvanov, the chief designer of the Energiya space rocket system. More about this from our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy:

[Belitskiy] Dr Gubanov was speaking at the 13th Korolev readings, an annual series of lectures on space research commemorating Sergey Korolev and other space pioneers. The lectures were presented here in Moscow at the end of last month. The main topic of discussion this year were naturally reusable spacecraft. [passage omitted on U.S., West European, and Japanese projects of this type; November maiden flight of Buran]

But Soviet experts are also working on the Energiya rocket itself to make it reusable, as Dr Guvanov put it. Dr Gubanov said that in future it is proposed to equip the units of the Energiya rocket's first stage with salvaging facilities. In other words with parachutes, soft-landing thrusters, and landing shock absorbers. After the separation of the first stage units these will assure the guided flight of the units and their soft landing in the required area.

It is also proposed to consider the possibility of making the rocket's second stage likewise reusable by fitting it with wings. This would enable the second stage to return to the launch site and land there on a runway.

In short, the propsect described by Dr Gubanov was one of reusable winged aerospace systems. I would put it this way, Gubanov said, we are now on the threshold of a transition to space plane systems. In this respect the design of the present system represents a mating of rocket and aircraft technology. As for the shuttle Buran, it is not the ultimate goal or destination of our program, it is more correct to describe it as one of the points in our extensive program of developing aerospace systems.

Military

Lushev Appointed Commander of Warsaw Pact Forces

LD0202160889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Army General Lushev has been appointed the new commander of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces.

Kulikov Released From Pact Duties

LD0202162989 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—General of the Army Petr Lushev, first deputy defence minister of the USSR, has been appointed commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member countries by agreement of the allied governments.

The governments of the Warsaw Treaty member countries met Marshal Viktor Kulikov's request to relieve him of the duties of commander-in-chief in connection with his appointment as general inspector with the group of general inspectors at the USSR Defence Ministry.

The allied governments commended him upon his services in the development of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Gen. Lushev, a Russian, was born in 1923. He graduated from the military academy of the armoured forces and the military academy of the General Staff.

He commanded a regiment, a division, an army, troops of several military districts, and the group of Soviet troops in Germany.

Since 1986, he served as first deputy defence minister of the USSR.

Chernyshev Weighs Problems in Industry Conversion

LD0202141689 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—By TASS Military Analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

Conversion of military production, which is one of the principal elements of disarmament, is bound to proceed along different lines in different countries. There are a number of factors in the socialist states that tend to facilitate this process. These countries lack social strata which wax rich on the arms race. They know no pursuit for high or super-high profits, typical for private arms manufacturers. The defence industry workers are not afraid of losing their jobs, since many sectors of socialist economy experience a chronic shortage of labour.

Economic development in socialist countries proceeds according to plan, and this makes it more fit for the elaboration of large-scale national projects, such as the conversion programme, for instance. Centralised planning of structural changes is already effected in the national economy. While many Soviet defence enterprises are quite experienced in manufacturing civilian goods. The immense scope of the ongoing perestroika processes and the available huge commodity market facilitate the choice of the civilian production that has to be turned out by these or other enterprises.

In spite of the indicated factors, however, which facilitate conversion in the USSR, this does not mean at all that it will not give rise to economic, technological and social problems in a planned economy. Many of the modern military enterprises are narrowly specialised, employ specific kinds of military technology, special raw materials and semifinished goods, which complicates their direct regearing to national economic needs.

Not everything will run smoothly with the personnel of military enterprises. Conversion to civilian production will cut into their wages, bonuses and awards, and what is even more important—they will lose the priority right to receive financial and material resources at short notice. Reoriented to the civilian market, they will have to give up the principal "end result at all costs," which is natural for several military sectors. This will require not only technological regearing, but reorganisation of production and sales management, too. Although we experience a shortage of manpower, it is bound to decrease substantially in the new economic conditions, envisaging self-accounting and self-financing. This means that economic resources are not inexhaustable in this respect, too. An important shortcoming, moreover, is our lack of sufficiently accessible information on military economy, which creates substantial difficulties in the theoretical elaboration of conversion problems both at national and sectoral levels.

Despite all these difficulties, obviously present in the USSR, the carried out studies and accumulated experience warrant the conclusion that conversion of military industry is not a utopia, but a concrete alternative to the militarization of national economy.

Reader Opposes Planned Forces Reduction Procedure

PM0202134589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Letter from Major V. Yevtyukhin: "Not Repeating Mistakes"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] Gorkiy—I consider it necessary to voice my opinion of the letter written by Justice Major General P. Barabol (retired), "I Want to Issue a Warning..." (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 December 1988). It discussed the forthcoming reduction of the armed forces, so the veteran's letter moved me. He advises against repeating the mistakes made under N. Khrushchev during the reduction of our army and navy.

I wholly support Comrade Barabol. The point is that in our organization, as he warned, everything is decided "by workers in the cadres organs, guided by an order issued from above." Only what is issued to us from above is not an order but a list of specific people. Parameters like the physical condition of servicemen and their professional qualities are not analyzed, and no account is taken even of the opinion of their immediate chiefs.

A little information about myself: I am 48 years old, I have been in military service since the age of 17, I have been awarded the "Veteran of the USSR Armed Forces" and "For labor excellence" medals and 2 years ago I was promoted to a very serious work sector, from which I have only just been released. The leadership did not express dissatisfaction with my service, but I am now the first candidate for reduction because I have a term of service greater than other officers drafted for service from the national economy.

[Signed] Major V. Yevtyukhin